

DIATRIBÆ
PARS IV. 14.11.17
DISCOURSES
ON
SUNDRY TEXTS OF
SCRIPTURE:

Delivered upon severall Occasions;

BY

JOSEPH MEDE, B. D. Sometimes
Fellow of *Christs College in CAMBRIDGE.*

Never before Published. 26

AND
M^r MEDE his EPISTLES,
IN

Answer of divers Letters from Learned Men :

CONTAINING
Short Discourses touching some points of Divinity : And
explaining divers difficult Texts of Scripture :

AS ALSO

A short View of the Authors Life and Death. With a
Catalogue of the Texts and Epistles ; And a Table of
the chief Heads and Scriptures expounded.

LONDON,

Printed by J. F. for JOHN CLARK, and are to be sold
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To the Reader.



O give you a true account of the publishing these Discourses and Epistles, you may be pleased to take notice, These learned Reliques of this Reverend Authour, hitherto have been preserved by sundry men (some of them friends to whom the Authour sent them) as parts of their private Treasure, and are now willingly presented to publick view for the Common Benefit.

For the *Discourses*; Though at first some of them appeared no better then brief Notes or Collections, transcribed from hand to hand, and thereby not a little wronged and defective; yet since care hath been taken to examine them exactly by the Authours own Manuscripts; and all of them (one only except)

THE EPISTLE,

cept) so perfected and compared with the Autograph, that it is verily hoped, no ingenuous Reader versed in this Authours works, and acquainted with his style and Notions, but will confesse them to be his own; and though perhaps not in every respect equal to those select peeces that have been formerly picked out from the rest; yet as those other did testifie his great parts, so these will superadde to his learning, and be a testimony of his great Piety.

And for that one only Discourse upon *Esay* 2. 2, 3. which hath not our Authours hand to protect it; Because it appeared not in the shape of a Letter, it was placed where it is among the Discourses; but might rather have been ranked with his Letters, as being indeed no other then an Epistolary Schediasme, dictated by the Authour on a sudden for satisfaction of a Friend of his, who desired his opinion touching that Prophecy; with which some religious (but lesse learned) Protestants had been pressed, by some Romish Factors, as with a most pregnant testimony for the Churches glorious visibility; which
in

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in their apprehension, agreeing to no other Society of Men calling themselves Christians, must needs (in their Logick) conclude the *Romish* to be the onely true Church, and all others no better then (as they please to term them) *Hereticks and Apostates*. From this occasion it derived its birth, and in the Original (whence this was transcribed) is by the Authour (with his own hand) thus subscribed; *More time, and more leisure, might have afforded you better: But for this you are beholding to your Cousin B. whose pains in writing, was more then mine in dictating. Vale. Yours, J. M.*

And this that Friend of the Reverend Authour, in whose possession it hath remained ever since the writing of it, (which was, *Anno 1627.*) was desirous the Reader should know, as conceiving it a Right due from him to the Authour; who, he beleeves, would not easily have been drawne to have published it, (or, indeed, divers other of those peeces that since his death have come abroad) unlesse he might have had more time and leisure for the polishing of them with a second hand. And the Candid Reader

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thus informed, will not (it is hoped) accuse him, or any other of wronging the Author, for that their zeale to the publick, would not suffer them to conceale such jewels for want of some polishing lustre, which might have been (perhaps by some) expected rather then needed.

For the *Epistles*; They are subjoynd as part of those *Analeſta* or learned notes found in scattered Papers under the Authours own hand: Many of them being Letters written to divers (some of them eminent) men upon severall occasions and arguments; wherein many things no lesse worthy to be known, then useful for the clearing of many points by him delivered, and expounding of many difficult Texts of Scripture, are learnedly discussed:

And because Letters (as they doe not Reply, so) without the occasion of them be known, seem many times but imperfect Discourses, hardly intelligible: the Letters of those persons, which either gave occasion to, or were in answer of his (so many of them as could be procured) are added in
their

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their severall places ; sometimes but part of of them, because they treat of the then present occurrents , and other private matters not fit to be made publick : Otherwhiles the whole Letter is printed, though the answer (which can be found) be but to part thereof , in hope that by this attempt for the publick good , the Ingenuity of those Gentlemen (which have any more of his Letters in their custody) will be induced to impart to the Stationer (through whose care and cost these have attained thus far perfection) such peeces as they yet have , that so the defects of this present Edition (if any be) in due time may be rectified, to the Authors Honour, and the Readers Benefit.

Moreover , most of these Letters are copied out of the Enditers Autograph ; where that is wanting, though transcribed by men of *Worth* and credit, who are ready to avow their authority ; yet in the Catalogue , this mark (¶) is prefix'd for the Readers clearer satisfaction: And albeit coming from several hands and at severall times, they could not be placed in such order as were to be wish-

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ed, yet you may observe their placing (for the most part) to be according to the time they were writ in; except some few onely, which the identity of the subject they treat of, caused to be so set as they are.

In the close of all, there is added, *A short view of the Authours Life and Death*; written by a worthy Friend, of familiar acquaintance with him; and now published, for the honour of his memory, and satisfaction of such as desire rightly to be informed touching a person so eminently deserving *de Republicâ literariâ*.

The



The severall TEXTS of the DISCOURSES.

Mark. i. 14, 15.

NOW after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospell of the Kingdom of God; And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdome of God is at hand; Repent ye, and beleeve the Gospell.

Pag. 1.

Jer. 10. 11.

Thus shall ye say unto them, The Gods that made not the Heavens and the Earth, (even) they shall perish from the Earth, and from under the Heavens.

P. 57.

Matth. 11. 28, 29.

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden and I will give you rest, Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart : and ye shall finde rest unto your soules.

P. 92.

Prov. 30: 8, 9.

Give me neither Poverty, nor Riches : Feed me with food convenient for me, [וְלֶחֶם חֲקִי] Lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain. [וְחִפְשִׁיתִי יָב אֱלֹהִי]

pag. 135

Judge

The severall Texts of the Discourses.

Judg. 1. 7.

As I have done, so God hath requited me. pag. 171

Prov. 4. 23.

*Keep thy heart with all diligence, [above all keeping.]
for out of it are the issues of life.* pag. 200

Isai. 55. 7.

*Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man
his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he
will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for hee
will abundantly pardon.* p. 221

Isai. 2. 2, 3.

*And it shall come to pass in the last dayes, that the
Mountaine of the Lords house shall be established [or,
prepared] in the top of the Mountains, and ex-
alted above the Hills; and all Nations shall flow unto
it, &c.* p. 243

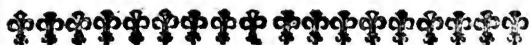
Ezra 6. 10.

*That they may offer Sacrifices of sweet savor unto the God
of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of
his Sonnes.* p. 258

Psal. 132. 7.

*We will go into his Tabernacles, we will worship towards
his Foot-stool.* p. 264

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DIS-



DISCOURSES

ON

DIVERS TEXTS

of SCRIPTURE.

MARK I. 14, 15.

*Now after that John was put into prison, Jesus came into Galilee preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of God,
And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; Repent ye, and believe the Gospel.*

THese words are a narration of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ his first beginning to preach the Gospel; which they describe 1. by the time when, 2. by the place where, 3. by the summe of what
ce preached.

The time when; *after that John was cast into prison.*

[C]

The

I.

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14, 15.

The place where; *Galilee: Jesus came into Galilee.*
Lastly, the summe of what he preached: *The time is fulfilled, and the kingdome of God is at hand; Repent yee, and beleve the Gospel.* In which Sermon there are also some parts to be considered, which we shall more conveniently distinguish when we come to handle it.

Mean while let us begin with the three parts or circumstances already named, in order. And first of the first, The time when.

I.

After that John was cast into prison] Our Saviour began not his solemn preaching till his Messenger *John the Baptist* who was sent to prepare his way, was cast into prison. This circumstance is elsewhere precisely noted in the Scripture, so that we cannot doubt but there is some matter of moment therein. For *S. Matthew* tells us, as *S. Mark* doth, *Now when Jesus had heard, saith he, that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee; and then it folowes, From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hand.* So *S. Peter Acts 10.* when he came to preach the Gospel of Christ to *Cornelius*, was carefull to mention this circumstance of time, as well as the other of place. *The word, saith he, which God sent unto the children of Israel preaching peace by Jesus Christ, (he is Lord of all) That word (I say) you know which was publisht throughout all Judea, began from Galilee after the baptisme which John preached.*

Loe here the place where, *Galilee*, and the time, *after that John had done*, as in my text. All which argues this circumstance of time to be one of the
markes

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markes of the true Messiah; As namely, That this Jesus was the Lord whom they looked for, who was to send a messenger before him, *the voyce of a cryer in the wilderness*, to usher his preaching and prepare the way of his Gospel, as was prophecied in *Esay* and *Malachi*, and the *Jews* at that time expected. Which was the reason of that scruple of the Disciples in the Gospel when they saw our Saviour and *Elias*, whom they supposed should be his forerunner, appear in glory, both together in his transfiguration. Why then, say they, do the Scribes say, that *Elias must come first*? Our Saviour tells them, that *John the Baptist* was that *Elias* the forerunner of Messiah, according to those words of his Father *Zachary*, *And thou child shalt be called the Prophet of the highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his way*. Namely, (as the Angel told him) *in the power and spirit of Elias*, *Luke 1*. For this reason, as our Saviour was not conceived, nor born, till six moneths after *John*, so he began not his prophecy till *John* had done, that so the Scripture might be fulfilled, and *John* be his forerunner and messenger both in the one and the other: *John's* beginning to baptize and his casting into prison, was between Christs prophecy and his. And lastly, to conclude the illustration of this circumstance, *John* was not only a forerunner of our Saviour in his nativity and prophecy, but also in his Passion and suffering: For so our Saviour himself expressly saith *Mat. 17. 12. Elias is come, & they knew him not, but have done unto him what ever they listed: even so also shal the son of man suffer of the*.

Now the observation, or if you will, the conside-

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ration

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ration I will make upon this circumstance shall be this: If that *Messiah* according to prophecy were to have an harbinger to prepare the way for his coming, and the holy Ghost in the new Testament thought this circumstance so needfull to prove the verity thereof, as so curiously to note it in the History of his Nativity, Preaching, and Suffering; It would be considered (seeing the coming of Christ is twofold, the first and second). whether the same prophecy imply not that there should be an harbinger as well of his second coming as of his first; as well an *Elias* to prepare the way for his coming in glory to judge the world, as there was at his first coming in humility to preach the Gospel and suffer for the world: An *Elias* I mean to be the harbinger of Christ to the nation of the *Jews* before his second coming, as *John Baptist* was at his first. For to the *Jews* alone is this *Elias* promised and not to the Gentiles, and *John Baptist* we know (the *Elias* of his first coming) preached to them alone. It is well known that all the Fathers (unlesse *S. Hierom* somewhat staggered) were of this opinion: and why we should so wholly reject it as we are wont to doe, I can see no sufficient reason. For if the Fathers erred concerning the person and other circumstances of this *Elias*, yet it follows not but the substance of their opinion might be true: As we know also they erred concerning the person, quality and reign of Antichrist, and yet for the substance the thing was true. Our Saviour rejected not the tradition of the Scribes concerning the coming of this *Elias*; when the Apostles objected it, though it were mingled with some falsehood

hood, but corrected it onely; for they looked for *Elias* the *Thisbite*; but our Saviour admits it only of *Elias* in Spirit, not of *Elias* in Person; so yeelding it true for the substance, though erring in circumstance: so should we doe in the like case: For he that throwes away what he findes because tis foul and dirty, may perchance sometimes cast away a Jewel or a peece of gold or silver: so he that wholly rejects an ancient Tenent because it hath some error annexed to it, may unawares cast away a truth; as this seems to be of an *Elias* to be the Harbinger of Christs second coming: and that for these reasons.

First, though the prophecy of *Esaia*s, *The voyce of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths straight*, allcaded by all the four Evangelists and by *Iohn* himself, seems appliable only to the first coming of Christ; yet the other out of *Malachi* (expresly quoted by *S. Mark* and by our Saviour *Matth. 11.* though elsewhere alluded unto) seems by *Malachi* himself to be applied not only to the first coming of Christ, but also to his second coming to judgement. For in his last chapter speaking of the coming of that day which shall burn like an oven, wherein all the proud, yea and all that doe wickedly, shall be as stubble, and it shall burn them up, leaving neither root nor branch, &c. he addeth, Behold [saith the Lord] I will send you *Elijah* the Prophet before the coming of that great and terrible day of the Lord, and he shall turn [or restore] the heart of the Fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their Fathers, lest I come, and smite the earth with a curse.

*Mark 1.
14, 15.*

I.

Mal. 4. 1.

vers. 5:

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If

task 1.
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If we will not admit the day here described to be the day of judgment, I know scarce any description of that day in the old Testament, but we may elude. For the phrase of *turning* (or, as I had rather translate it, *restoring*, as the LXX. *ἀποκαταστήσει*) *the heart of the Fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their Fathers*, the meaning is, that this *Elias* should bring the refractory and unbelieving posterity of the Jewish nation to have the same heart and mind their holy Fathers and Progenitors had, who feared God and beleaved his promises; that so their Fathers might as it were rejoyce in them, and own them for their children; that is, he should convert them to the faith of that Christ whom their Fathers hoped in and looked for, lest continuing obstinate in their unbelieve till the great day of Christ's second coming, they might perish among the rest of the enemies of his kingdome. Therefore the Son of *Syrach* in his praise of *Elias* the *Thisbite* paraphraseth this place after this manner, *who wast ordained* (saith he) *an ἐλεγχος* or *type* (for so it may be turned) *for the times to come, to pacifie the wrath of the Lords judgment before it break forth into fury, and to turne the heart of the Father unto the Son, and to restore the tribes of Israel*, *Ecclus. 48. 10.* which explication also the Angel warranteth *Luke 1. 17.* in his message to *Zachary* concerning his son, *He shall go* (saith he, *before the Lord in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just* (this is in stead of reducing the hearts of the children to the Fathers) *to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.* For the better

better understanding of this first reason we must know, that the old Prophets for the most part spake of the coming of Christ *indefinitely* and in general, without that distinction of first and second coming, which we have more clearly learned in the Gospel. For this reason those Prophets (except *Daniel* who distinguisheth those comings, and the Gospel out of him) speak of the things which should be at the coming of Christ indefinitely and all together: which we who are now more fully informed by the revelation of his Gospel of this distinction of a twofold coming, must apply each of them to its proper time: Those things which besit the state of his first coming unto it, and such things as besit the state of his second coming unto his second: And that which besits both alike (as this of an harbinger or messenger) may be applied to both.

My second reason for the proof hereof is from our Saviours own words in the Gospel *Mat. 17. 10, 11.* where his disciples immediately upon his transfiguration asking him, saying, *Why then say the Scribes that Elias must first come?* Our Saviour answers, *Elias truly shall first come* καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα and shall restore all things: These words our Saviour spake when *Iohn Baptist* was now beheaded, and yet speakes as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, *Elias shall come and shall restore all things.* How can this be spoken of *Iohn Baptist*, unlesse he be to come again? Besides, I cannot see how this *restoring of all things* can be verified of the ministry of *Iohn Baptist* at the first coming of Christ, which continued but a very short time, and did no such thing as these

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words seem to imply, for the restoring of all things belongs not to the first, but to the second coming of Christ, if we will beleve S. Peter in his first Sermon in the Temple after Christs ascension, *Acts* 2. 19. where he thus speaks unto the *Jews*, Repent (saith he) and be converted for the blotting out of your sins, that the times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send Jesus Christ which before was preached unto you, whom the heavens must receive untill the times of the restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets since the world began. The word is the same *ἀνα-
ταστάσεις πάντων*. If the time of restoring all things be not till the second coming of Christ, how could *Iohn Baptist* restore all things at his first? If the Master come not to restore all things till then; surely his harbinger who is to prepare his way for restoring all things, is not to be lookt for till then.

These are the reasons which have induced me to think that the opinion which the Church hath had, as farre, as I know from her infancy, of an *Elias* which should be the harbinger of Christs second coming, hath some matter of truth in it. But that this *Elias* should be *Elias the Thibite* who was taken up into heaven, I confesse I beleve not any more, then that he should be slain by Antichrist, as some fable. For that which the Prophet saith, Behold, I will send you *Elijah the Prophet*, proves no more that it should be *Elijah* in person, then that which is said of *Messiah* (And David my servant shall rule over them) proves Christ should be *David* in person. It is much more like, if it be one that comes again, it should

should be *John Baptist* himself who was the harbinger of the first coming : That as Christ himself the Master had two comings, so should his harbinger have; and as it shall be the same Christ which comes the second time that came the first, so should his harbinger be the same. And to this both the words of the Angel to *Zachary* the father of the Baptist, and the words of our Saviour in the place before quoted, would not be unappliable. The second coming of Christ is the time of the resurrection, and in that respect it would not be unsuitable for the harbinger thereof to be one risen from the dead. But as for *Elias* the *Thisbites* coming I find no ground at all, but the contrary. Howsoever though I compare probabilities I will not determine any thing, lest some perhaps should say, that while I reject old fables, I coin new ones : I rather conclude, *Cum Elias venerit, solvent nodos*; when that *Elias* comes he shall dissolve hard questions.

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14, 15.

Having declared the circumstance of time when our Saviour first began his solemn prophecy or preaching of the Gospel, namely not till his harbinger *John* had done and finished his preparation; I proceed to the second circumstance, namely of the place which was *Galilee*; *Iesus came into Galilee*, &c. A circumstance curiously noted by all the Evangelists, that our Saviour preached his Gospel in *Galilee*. *S. Peter* also in his Sermon to *Cornelius* stamps it with this character; *The word which begun from Galilee*. No name of place in the story of our Saviours conversation on earth more frequent, more beaten upon, then this of *Galilee*, nor scarce any mark more

Mark 1.
4, 15.

more evidently demonstrates him to be the true Messiah, then this of *Galilee*. Yet (which is to be admired) no character so much neglected, nor so little understood, as this of *Galilee*: as if we had conspired with the unbelieving *Jews*, and said, *Can there any good come out of Galilee?* But that you may know how great a myserie, how principall an evidence of our faith lyes in this one so unregarded circumstance, in this discourse I will endeavour,

1. First, to describe, what, and where this countrey of *Galilee* was.

2. Secondly, to shew that our Saviours proper and chiefest abode, his preaching and his works were in *Galilee*.

3. Thirdly, which is the crown of all, that the true Messiah according to prophecy was to appear and have his chief conversation in *Galilee*.

1. For the first, the land of *Canaan* or *Palestine* was in our Saviours time divided into three principal Provinces: On the south, *Judea*, which contained the Lot of the two tribes, *Judah* and *Benjamin*. In the midst was *Samaria*, where the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* anciently dwelt: but now was inhabited by the off-spring of those nations which the King of *Assyria* placed in their rooms when he carried them captive. On the north was *Galilee*, the remotest from *Ierusalem*; the chiefest and fertilest part thereof towards *Jordan* was the land of *Zebulun* and *Nephtali*. The rest had been the habitation of the two small tribes, *Ashur* and *Issachar*. *Galilee* was divided into two parts, the *higher* and the *lower*. The *higher* was for the most part thereof the land
of

of *Nephthali*, wherein (there where it bordered upon *Zebulun*) stood the rich and beautifull *Capernaum*, Metropolis or chiefeſt City of all *Galilee*, ſituate upon the bank of *Jordan* upon the lake of *Genefaret* or *Tiberias*, called *the ſea of Galilee*: over againſt which (on the other ſide the water) ſtood *Choraſin*, which our Saviour pronounced a *woe* unto. This *Galilee* was called *Galilee of the Gentiles*; either becauſe part of it was long) and even till *Solomons* time) inhabited by *Gentiles*; or becauſe *Solomon* gave twenty cities of the ſame to *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, which perhaps were the ſame which the *Gentiles* till then inhabited: or laſtly, becauſe it was the outmoſt part of the land, and ſo next unto the *Gentiles*. The *lower Galilee* contained the tribe of *Zebulun* (and alſo *Iſſachar*) wherein were the cities *Nazareth* and *Bethſaida* neer the ſea or lake of *Galilee*, and *Cana*, where our Saviour wrought his firſt miracle by turning water into wine. Alſo mount *Tabor*, where he was tranſfigured. From *Capernaum* along by the ſea ſide, and through *Bethſaida* lay the great road or way from *Syria* unto *Egypt*, which is ſuppoſed to be that which the Scripture calls *the way of the ſea*. At the time of our Saviours preaching and ſuffering, two of theſe three provinces, *Iudea* and *Samaria*, were governed by the Roman Præſident, which then was *Pontius Pilate*; the third *Galilee*, was under *Herod* the Tetrarch (or *Antipas*) ſo called becauſe he was Prince but of the fourth part of the kingdome of *Herod* his father. This was he that beheaded *Iohn* the Baptiſt, and was reconciled to *Pilate* the Præſident of *Iudea* when our Saviour was condemned.

Having

Mark 1.
14, 15.

Mat. 4. 15.

Mat. 1.
14, 15.

Act. 1. 11.

2. 7.

Having shewne what and where this Region of *Galilee* was; the next thing to be considered, is, that our Saviours conversation while he was upon earth, was principally and ordinarily in *Galilee*. First, he was both conceived and brought up at *Nazareth*, a City in *Galilee*. Secondly, when he began the solemn publication of his Gospell, he chose *Capernaum*, the Metropolis of *Galilee*, for his station, and went and dwelt there. There he chose his Disciples, namely, *Galileans*; which the two Angels at the time of his ascension can witnesse, when they say to the Apostles, *Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into Heaven?* And all the multitude at the Feast of *Pentecost*, when the Holy Ghost came down upon them, and they spake with tongues, *Are not, say they, all these which speak Galileans?* From *Capernaum*, as from an Episcopall Sea, he went two severall times round all the Region of *Galilee*, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching his Gospell in every City and Village, Mat. 4. 23. and 9. 35. The beginning of his miracles, and the first manifestation of his glory, as S. *John* speaks ch. 2. was at *Cana of Galilee*, and the greatest part of the miracles he did afterward, were done in that Country. His glorious transfiguration was upon Mount *Tabor*, a Mount of *Galilee* in the Land of *Zebulun*, where a voice came from heaven, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, heare ye him.* In a word, our Saviours ordinary residence was in *Galilee*; he came into *Judea* onely at the Feast times, when the whole Nation assembled at *Ierusalem*; during which times (partly during his stay there, partly in his going and returning

ning; he did all, in a manner, that he did out of Galilee; and the last Feast he came thither, offered himself a sacrifice upon the crosse, for the sins of the whole world. Lastly, when he was risen from the dead, he appoints his Disciples to come see him in Galilee: *When I am risen again, saith he, I will go before you into Galilee.* And after he was so; the Angell told the woman as much at his Sepulchre, and afterwards himself, *Go tell my brethren (saith he) that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.* Onely his Nativity, his Passion and Ascension were proper to *Indea*; his Nativity at *Bethlehem*, upon what occasion ye know; his Passion at *Ierusalem*, when he came thither to the Passcover; his Ascension upon Mount *Olivet*, hard by *Ierusalem*.

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14, 15.

Mat. 28. 10

This being evident, that our Saviours principall conversation and abode was in *Galilee*; I come to the last, which is the crown of all; That *Messias* was, according to prophecy, to vouchsafe his presence, and have his abode principally in the province of *Galilee*. This prophetic is in the ninth of *Esay*; for the clear understanding of which, before I report it, I must premise a passage of sacred storie; namely, that the Land of *Galilee*, or of *Zebulun* and *Naphthali*, had the hard hap to be first in that calamity which befell their Nation by the *Assyrians*; for so it is written; 2 *King.* 15. 29. *In the daies of Pekah King of Israel, came Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria, and took Jion, and Abel, Beth-Maacha, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, (all these, save Janoah and Gilead, were cities of Naphthali) and all Galilee; all the Land of Naphthali; and carried them captives*

Esa. 9 1, 2,
3. &c.

Mark 1.
14, 15.

tives to Assyria. By occasion of which calamity, being then newly happened, *Esay* comforts them with this prophecy, that in recompense of that heavy disadvantage (above the rest of their brethren) they should have the first and chiefeft share of the presence and conversation of Messiah which was to come. *As the first time* (saith he) *he made vile* (or *debased*) *the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali*, so in the latter time he shall make it glorious. If yee aske why? it followes, *The way of the sea by Jordan Galilee of the Gentiles.* v. 2. *The people that walked in darknesse* (namely, of affliction) *have seen a great light,* they that dwelt in the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. v. 3. *Thou hast multiplied the nation,* and increased the joy thereof, &c. If yee aske how comes this? it followes v. 6. *For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Father* (or author) *of eternitie, The Prince of peace.* v. 5. *Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdome, to order it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.* This is he that should enlighten the Province of Galilee or the land of Zebulun and Naphtali with the glory of his presence, and make it as it were amends for what it suffered, before the rest of the countrey of Israel, by the hand of the King of Assyria.

And if this be not a prophecy of Christ, I know not what is. And to the same purpose I bring it.

S. Matthew

S. *Matthew* quotes it *ch. 4.* upon our Saviours going, after *John* was cast into prison, to dwell at *Capernaum* the Metropolis of *Galilee*, to make it the seat of the preaching and publication of the Gospel of his Kingdome; which should have made us take more notice thereof then commonly we have done. Blind *Jews* that could not see it! nay for this very reason, because he was of *Galilee*, they would not beleeve him to be the Messiah: *shall Christ come out of Galilee*, say they? should not Christ come out of *Bethlehem*? and so he did too, and yet was by habitation and conversation a *Galilean*. Nay I must yet say more; even we Christians cannot altogether be excused, who by following the *Jews* too close, have so troubled and darkned the beginning of this prophecy. by mistranslating and misdistinguishing it, that when we have done we can hardly tell how to defend S. *Matthews* application thereof, much lesse see the evidence of so clear a prophecy. I think the devil did owe it a spight from the beginning. The *Septuagint* is here corrupted into pure non-sense, and so I beleeve was even in the Apostles times, which made S. *Matthew* that he could quote nothing of that first sentence, but only the names of *Zebulun* and *Naphtali*, as he may see that compares them. The *Chaldee* Paraphrast is as wide: How we translate of later times, I shall not need to mention, those who are pinched therewith can tell best. For my part I am perswaded the four or five first words, wherewith we are wont to begin this ninth chapter, belong to the last verse of the chapter aforegoing, as both the *Chaldee* Paraphrast and S. *Jerome* refer

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14, 15.

Matth. 1.
14, 15.

fer them. And that the words following begin a new prophecy, namely, that which I have hitherto alledged for Messiah's abode in *Galilee*. In this manner נָעַת הָרָאשִׁית הָקֵל אֶרְצָה זְבֻלֹן וְאֶרְצָה נַפְתָּלִי וְהָאֲחֵרִית הִכְבִּיד; according as the first time that he made vile (or debased) the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, so in the latter time he shall make it glorious. Or making נָעַת the supposition of the sentence thus, *As the first time made vile the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali; so the latter time shall make them glorious.* Or simply without comparison thus, *The first time he debased the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he shall make them glorious.* Then follow the words which S. Matthew quotes; *The way of the sea by Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles.* It seems to me to be exceeding plain, and to make the prophecy so clear as scarce any in Scripture goes beyond it. Is not הָקֵל to make vile or debase, and הִכְבִּיד to glorify or make glorious? Let him that hath skill in the language, judge. What need we then translate *lightly afflict* and *heavily afflict*? True הָקֵל hath the signification of *lightness*, but it is of *light worth*, and חִבְבִּיד of *weight*, but as in *Piel* frequently, so here of the *weight of glory*; and we our selves otherwhiles translate it so. And to conclude, the event is true and evident, that as the land of Zebulun and Naphtali had the first share in the calamity by *Assyria*; so had they a prerogative in enjoying the presence of Messiah.

The observation that this circumstance of Christ our Saviours habitation and abode suggests unto our meditation, is an example of that rule of Gods

mini-

ministration S. Paul speaks of 1 Cor. 1. 26, 27. To make choice of the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and of weak, base and despicable things in the worlds account to confound the mighty : that no flesh should glory before him. For Galilee and the inhabitants thereof in respect of *Iudea*, were reputed ignoble and half strangers, both because they were so farre divided from *Jerusalem* (where the temple of their nation was) and because it was not the proper and original habitation of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* which returned from captivity ; but part of the lot of the kingdome of the ten tribes which *Salmaneser* carryed away captive. Howbeit, the *Jews* of the two tribes after their return, especially in the prevailing times of the *Maccabees*, had many of them settled themselves there, and at length subdued the *Gentiles*, there dwelling, and replenisht it with their own people : yet so as many of the *Gentiles* dwelt still among them : in which respect they were despised of those that dwelt in *Iudea* their native home, and accounted (though of the same nation, yet) far lesse nobler then themselves. In so much as that the name *Galilean* was in some sort reproachfull and despicable, as we may gather even from those speeches of the *Jews* in the Gospel. Shall Christ come out of Galilee ? and, But out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet. Yet did God so order it that Christ the King of Israel, the great Saviour of mankind, who was to be exalted to sit at the right hand of God, farre above all principalities and powers, should be as you see a *Galilean*. And was not the rest of his breeding futable thereunto ? Who would not have

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looked

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Joh. 7. 41.
52.

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looked that the glorious Son of *David* should have been born of the most rich and potent parentage of that line ? but behold he was of the poorest and most despised. Who would not have thought that *Jerusalem* the Royall City, had been the only fit place for his birth ? but he was born at *Bethlehem* one of the least cities of *Judah*. And what ? in some stately and more convenient Palace there ? No, in a stable, and laid in a manger. So was *David* his progenitor the youngest and most despised son of *Israh*, *Samuel* thought the brave and goodly *Eliab*, the first born, was the man surely whom God would choose to make him King. But God had set his eye upon him whom the Father so little regarded as he could scarce thinke of him, even that little one which kept the sheep. Thus God derides the conceits of men.

Fooles therefore that we are ! why do we value those things so much which God esteems so little ? We are wont otherwise to make much account of such things as Kings and Great ones have in esteem, and to think but basely of those things which they despise ; why should not the example of Almighty God bear the like sway in our judgments, to prefer what he preferres, and slight what he undervalues ? Let us therefore considering this, set our hearts and affections upon heavenly and spirituall things, and say of all the pompe and glory of this world, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.*

Having spoken of the two first particulars I propounded, the Time when, and the Place where our Saviour began the publication of his Gospel: I come

now.

now to the third, the sum of what he preached: and it contains two parts, a *Doctrine* and an *Exhortation*.

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The *Doctrine* is, that the time foretold by the Prophets when the kingdom of God should begin was come. *The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand.* The *exhortation* is, That therefore they should *Repent and beleeve the Gospel*, or glad tydings, which that kingdom brings. In the doctrine two things are to be unfolded; 1. *What the kingdom of God is.* 2. What was the *time* prefixt for the *coming thereof*; which our Saviour saith was fulfilled when he spake unto them.

For the first, *the kingdom of God*, is that which otherwise is called the *kingdom of heaven*. These are both one: and therefore S. Matthew (ch. 4.) when he relates this preaching of our Saviour saith that he preached and said, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*; namely the same that John Baptist his harbinger preacht before him: For the Hebrews expresse God by *heaven*, as we may see Dan. 6. 24. where it is said to Nebuchadnezzar, that *his kingdom should be restored unto him when he should acknowledge that the heavens bear rule*; that is, God the most high, who dwels in heaven. The prodigal child in the Gospel saith, *Father I have sinned against Heaven, and against thee*, Luke 15. So Mat. 21. 15. *The baptisme of Iohn was it from heaven, or from men?* that is, from God, or from men? This is the reason why the *kingdom of God* and *kingdom of heaven* mean one and the same thing. Let us therefore now see what is meant by it.

This *kingdom of God*, or *kingdom of heaven* is,

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the

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14, 15.

the kingdome of *Messiah* or Christ foretold in the Prophets; the kingdome of that *Seed of the woman* which should break the Serpents head; of the seed of *Abraham*, wherein all the nations of the earth should be blessed. For so the Hebrew Doctors before, and at our Saviours coming had termed this kingdome, and taught their people to look for it under that name, which they had learned out of the prophecies of *Daniel* concerning it, who chap. 2. ver. 44. describes it in this manner; *In the days of those Kings or kingdomes (that is, while the days of the four Monarchies there spoken of yet lasted) the God of heaven shall found or set up a kingdome, which shall never be destroyed, nor left unto another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdomes, and it shall stand for ever.* In the 7 chap. vers. 13. he describes it thus, *I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven: And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdome, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not passe, and his kingdome that which shall not be destroyed.* From these places the Jews called the *Messiahs* kingdome the *kingdome of God*, or the *kingdome of heaven*; because in the first place, it is said that the *God of heaven* should set up this kingdome: and in the other place, that the *Son of man* (namely the *Messiah*) should come in the clouds of heaven. For our Saviour brought not this phrase or term with him; but found it at his coming used among the Jews, which being fitly given he approved; and so taught them the mysteric of his coming in their own language

language. As we may see in so many parables of the Gospel where our Saviour sets forth the state of the Church and the members of the same continually under the name of the *kingdome of God*, and the *kingdome of heaven*. The kingdome of heaven is like a field where a sower sowed good seed, &c. The kingdome of heaven is like unto leaven, &c. The kingdome of heaven is like unto a Merchant, &c. The kingdome of heaven is like unto a net, and the like: In all which our Saviour describes the state of his Church in that language the people were used unto, as he doth also in other of his Sermons. Hence it is that when *John Baptist* first, and our Saviour after him, preached, the *kingdome of heaven is at hand*, the *Jews* wondred not at the term as at a novelty, nor ever askt what it meant; but understood it of the kingdome of *Messiah*, which they had been taught to call by that name then, and is still found so called among their Rabbies and Doctors untill this day, though through their unbelief they had no portion therein, but lookt for it still to come.

The *kingdome of God* or *kingdome of heaven* then, is nothing else but the Church of Christ, or the Christian Church, which is no temporall kingdome like the kingdomes of this world, which have power over the body onely, but a spirituall kingdome which reigns over the souls and spirits of men. The *kingdome of God*, saith our Saviour, is *within you*, that is, it is a kingdome of the inward man. And therefore this kingdome was not to be founded after the manner of the kingdomes of men, by great armies and

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14, 15.

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field-battails, but was to subdue the nations, and conquer the world by a more divine way, namely by the power of the word & spirit, as we see it hath done: *My kingdom, saith our Saviour, is not of this world*; that is, not from this world, or to be set up by worldly means, as other kingdomes are: *For if my kingdome, saith he, were of, or from, this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered unto the Jews, but now my kingdome is not from hence, Ioh. 18. 36.* Armies and swords are not fit means to conquer the souls of men; and therefore Christ was to performe his conquests in a more divine and invisible way. And as he conquered them, so he governs, and keeps them, in their allegiance to him, not by Garrisons and armed troops, but by the power of the same word and spirit. Lastly, as he governs his subjects, so he fights against his enemies, not as the Kings of the earth doe, but by a divine and heavenly working, by divine and heavenly ministers, by the ministry of Angels * who are all at his command. For the enemies of his Church and kingdome are chiefly spirituall, namely those spirituall powers, those rulers of darknesse, the devill and all his troops of Fiends, which cannot be dealt withall, or resisted after a corporall manner, but by spirituall means and spirituall ministers. And though the Armes of flesh and bloud are also lift up against the kingdome of Christ; yet is it always by the instigation and under the conduct of those invisible fiends: As for the men employed in such service, they are but the horses in the devils battails; the devill and his Angels are the riders; and

* Mat. 26.
53.

and therefore to be repelled by a power and force suitable unto them. In a word, the whole world by sinne was become the kingdome of the devill: Christ came to recover it from him, and to erect the kingdome of God in place thereof. Such a kingdome therefore as the one was, such must the other be; else it should not match it, as by the tenor of the first Gospel it was to be; which saith, *The seed of the woman should break the Serpents head.*

I must adde one thing more for the understanding of this kingdome, namely that this kingdome of Christ which I have hitherto described, hath a *two-fold state*: The one *militant*, consisting in a perpetual warfare and manifold sufferings; which is the present state begun at his first coming; when *he ascended up into heaven to sit at the right hand of God.* The second state is a *triumphant* state, which shall be at his second appearing in glory in the clouds of heaven, at what time he shall put down all authority, power and rule, and subdue all his enemies under his feet, even death it self, (as S. Paul tells us 1 Cor. 15.) and in that great Assizes of the quick and dead shall render everlasting vengeance to his enemies, and those who beleaved not his Gospel; and give rewards of glory to his servants, who have kept their faith and allegiance to him. And that once done, and so his conquest finished, he shall surrender up his kingdome into the hands of his Father; that *being subject to him who put all things under his feet, God may be all in all*, as S. Paul tells us.

In both which estates how fitly this kingdom is called the *kingdome of heaven* or of God, appears in three

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respects,

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respects, 1. Because the King thereof hath his seat and throne *in heaven*, where he sits at the right hand of God: 2. Because the beginning thereof is from *heaven* and not from earth, or by earthly means: 3. And lastly, because it is governed and administred by the *power of heaven*, and not by earthly power. Is not such a kingdome rightly and truly called the *kingdome of heaven*? Thus having explicated this speech of the *kingdome of God* or *kingdome of heaven*, because that term is so frequent in the Gospel, and not always, or perhaps not rightly, understood; henceforth let him that readeth understand.

I proceed to the second point, namely, what was the time designed and prefixed for the coming and beginning of this kingdome, which our Saviour saith here was fulfilled. *The time, saith he, is fulfilled, the kingdome of God is at hand.* The time of this kingdome was by the prophet *Daniel* two ways foretold; first, generally and at large; secondly, more precisely and punctually. The generall time designed was, that it should begin under and during the fourth kingdome or Roman Monarchy; which at length it should ruin and utterly destroy. For *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babel* had a vision of an image of four differing metals; *The head of Gold, the armes and breasts of silver, the belly and thighs of brasse, the legs of iron, but the feet part of iron, and part of clay;* While he beheld the image and surveighed it from head to foot, he saw a stone hewed out of the mountain without hands, which stone smote the image (not upon the head, or breast, or belly, but) upon the iron and clayie feet, whereby the image and all his other metals being

Dan. 2. 32.

being mingled with iron, vanished away and became as chaffe before the winde. Then the stone which smote the image upon the feet, became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. This vision Daniel expounded of four Gentile kingdoms, which should succeed one another in order with great extent of dominion: The first compared to gold, was the *Babylonian* which then reigned. The second resembled to silver, should be the empire of the *Medes and Persians* which subdued that of *Babylon*. The third, figured in the brazen belly and thighs, was the *Greek*, which subdued the *Persian*. The iron legs, (the fourth and last) was the *Roman*, which subdued the *Greek*. and so became possessed of the riches and glory of all the former three. During this last kingdom was the stone hewn out of the mountain, and smote the iron feet: This stone, saith *Daniel*, was the kingdom of the God of heaven, which should be set up before the days of these four Gentile kingdoms should expire, namely under the last of them. In the days of these kingdoms, saith he, (that is, while these times of the Gentiles dominions yet lasted) the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor left unto another people (as each of the other were) but should break in pieces, and consume all those kingdoms, (namely in the last, in which all the other were incorporated as it were) and it self should stand for ever. For as much as thou saw'st (saith he unto the King) that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands (that is, without earthly means) and that it brake in pieces the iron and the brasse, silver and gold mingled with it.

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14, 15.

Now

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Now the Roman empire (during which this prophecy was to be accomplished) was in our Saviours time come to the height and highest pitch, and so next door to a declination and downfall. But this downfall was to be wrought by the stone, *viz.* the kingdom of Christ, who should first demolish the Gods and idols thereof, and then the state it self. *The time* therefore (when our Saviour spake) *was fulfilled, and the kingdom of God was at hand.*

Thus you see how the time was pointed out at large: now hear the precise and punctuall time; whereby they might know not only that the kingdom of *Messiah* should be set up in the Roman Monarchy, but also in what time thereof. The Angel tels *Daniel* (ch. 9. 24.) that when the temple, city and common-wealth of the Jews (which then lay wast in the *Babylonish* captivity) should be restored and set up again, it should continue 490 years or 70 times 7 years, and no more: and that before that term ended *Messiah* should come and be anointed, and make atonement for sinne; his words are these, *70 weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finish transgression, and to make an end of sinnes, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy.* For understanding this reckoning, you must know, that the Jews according to the law counted their times and years by sevens; every seventh year being a year of rest for the land and freeing of servants, and so called a *Sabbaticall year*; according to which account the Angel tels *Daniel* that 70 of those

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those weeks of years were allotted for the standing of their temple and common wealth, when both should be restored again after the captivity; which make in all 490 years. Now if *Messiah* were to appear before these 490 years were ended, it could not in likelihood be much later then this time, when our Saviour published this Gospel: because within 40 years after the Temple and state of the Jews was utterly destroyed, whereby it was apparent that the 490 years were ended, and therefore the time of *Messias* appearing past.

But *Daniel* yet points out the time more narrowly and punctually: For he tells us moreover that from the edict for restoring the state of the Jews, and rebuilding *Jerusalem* (which was some years after the rebuilding of the Temple) should be unto *Messias the Prince* 62 of those weeks or sevens of years: and after those 62 seven years *Messias* should be cut off. Now if we reckon this number of weeks of years from that week wherein *Ezra* received commission from *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia* to restore and settle the Church and State of the Jews and *Nehemiah* soon after to build the walls of *Jerusalem*; we shall find the time when our Saviour began this publication of his Gospel to fall out in the last week of those 62 weeks. As a woman therefore with child when her tenth and last month is come, may truly say her reckoning is fulfilled, her travaile is at hand; so might our Saviour when the last week of *Messias*'s weeks was begun, say, *The time is fulfilled, the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*

The lesson to be learned hence is, for confirmation

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tion of our faith against the blindness and obstinacy of the *Jews*, who will not believe that *Jesus of Nazareth* who came at the time appointed, was their King *Messiah*, but look for another yet to come. O blind Miscreants ! If the time of *Messiah's* coming were then fulfilled when our Saviour preached unto them, how are they so besotted as to look for his kingdom still ? shall he come 1600 years after the time of his coming was fulfilled ? Their fathers looked for the coming of *Messiah* at that time when our Saviour preached amongst them; yea had filled all East with the fame of their expectation, which they would never have done, had they not seen the time appointed for his coming and kingdom, was to come out in that age. Why did their Fathers never alledge against the Apostles, that the time was not yet come ? had not this been the readiest way to stop their mouths, when they told them, *They had crucified their Messiah* ? Nay when our Saviour made *this fulfilling of the time* to be the ground of his doctrine, why did not their great Doctors (their Scribes and Pharisees) oppose and gainsay it, unless they had known it to be so indeed ? Nay at his blessed birth when the *wise men* came from the east to *Jerusalem*, saying, *Where is he that is born King of the Jews* ? when *Herod* and all *Jerusalem* was troubled, when he assembled all the chief Priests and Scribes of the People about it, why did they not tell him the time was not yet come, unless they had known it had been come ? But of the time was no question, onely the place was inquired of. In a word, all the exception the *Jews* could

could finde against our Saviour, was the meannesse of his person, because he came not like a King; and the place of his education, because he was a *Galilean*; but against the time of his coming they took no exception. Nay (which is an invincible confession) the most of them at this day have no other shift, but to say, their *Messiah* was born then, namely, before their Temple was destroyed; and lies hid all this time somewhere for their sins, but at length shall shew himself unto them.

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Let us pray unto Almighty God, that he would at length open their eyes to see him to be their King, whom they have pierced; and that there is no other to be looked for. And let us continually magnifie his goodnesse unto us, unto whom (being Gentiles, and *Aliens from the Common-wealth of Israel, a people without God in the world*) he hath, notwithstanding, vouchsafed this great light, and made knowne that mysteric which is hidden from his owne people, to whom appertained *the adoption, the glory, the Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the Promises. Whose were the Fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.* What are we, that it should please the great and mighty God to look upon such dead dogs as we are?

Rom. 9. 4,
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Repent ye, and beleve the Gospel.

Whilest our blessed Saviour preached here on earth, what else, in likelihood, could the argument of his preaching be, but the mysteric of Christian Reli-

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Religion, or way of attaining salvation through himself? Accordingly this brief of his Sermons, recorded by our Evangelist, contains no lesse than the summe of all Christian Divinity. For the knowledge of the Kingdome of God, and the means how to attain to be a member, and so to have interest in the benefits and priviledges of the same, (which is Salvation) containeth the summe of all a Christian is either to know or do. The first of which (the knowledge of the Kingdome of God) is in the first words, *The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdome of God is at hand*; of which I have spoken already. The second is contained in the next words, *Repent ye, and believe the Gospel*; of which I am to speak now.

None can be Members or Citizens of the *Kingdome of God*, but onely those who are the *Sons of God*; The means to become the sons or children of God, is by regeneration or new birth. This is the myserie our Saviour told *Nicodemus* of, when he came to him by night; *Except a man (saith our Saviour) be born again, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God*, John 3. Now regeneration, or new birth, consists of these two parts, *repentance towards God*, and *faith towards Christ*; according to that which the Apostle *Paul* told the Elders of the Church of *Ephesus*, Act. 20. 21. *That he had testified both to Jews and Greeks, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ*: that is, the whole myserie of regeneration, whereby a man becomes the *childe of God*, and a *member of the Kingdome of heaven*. Where we are to note (and it will serve us to understand these things the better) that *repentance*, properly and distinctly

stinctly taken, looks towards God the Father, and Faith unto Christ our Mediatour. The one is our returning unto God, from whom we are gone astray by sin: the other, the means or way of our return unto him, by Christ, without whom we can never be reconciled to our heavenly Father, nor perform any service acceptable unto him.

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These two therefore our Saviour distinguisheth, when he saith, *Repent, and beleve the Gospel*; the one looking to his Father, the other to himself. Both joyned together, make a new birth, or a new man; even as in naturall generation, the soule being united with the body, makes a naturall man; repentance here, being as the body or matter, which faith in the Gospel of Christ inlivens and informeth as a soule. Those therefore who make faith a part of repentance, understand by repentance the whole regeneration of a sinner. Otherwise, if repentance be taken precisely and distinctly, as it is here by our Saviour, then is not faith a part, but a necessary concurrent of repentance; as the soul is no part of the body, but concurs therewith to the making of a man.

Thus much I held needfull to speak of repentance and faith in generall, to make my way the more straight and easie to the handling of them severally and apart, which is next to be considered. And first of *repentance*.

Repentance is a turning of the whole heart from Satan and sin, to serve God in newnesse of life. I say, *from Satan and sin*, because he that lives in sin, serves the Devill, and belongs to his jurisdiction. And therefore in our Baptism, which is the seal of our new birth,

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birth, we professe our repentance by *renouncing the Devil and all his works*; that is, the works of sinne wherewith he is served; and then we sweare fealty to God, saying, *I beleeve in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, &c.* The definition I have given, you shall finde full and whole in our Saviours words to S. Paul, when he appeared to him going to *Damascus*, Act. 26. 18. as S. Paul himself reporteth them; namely, *That he would send him to the Gentiles, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darknesse to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they might receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified.* Which voyce S. Paul there saith, *he was obedient unto;* and thereupon went and shewed first to the *Jews*, and then to the *Gentiles*, that they should *repent, and return to God, and do works meet for repentance.* The Commission therefore given him in the words aforesaid was to preach repentance.

And howsoever the name of *repentance* be by a custome of speech restrained onely to that sorrow and remorse for sin, which is but the beginning of our turning; yet, if we will speak according to Scripture (as we must doe when we expound it) the word *μετάνοια*, translated *repentance*, is of a large extent, signifying not onely those pangs of contrition, wherewith repentance begins, but the whole change and journey (as I may so speak) of the soule of a sinner; leaving the service of the Devil, and turning to the service of God. For this word in the new Testament, answers to that of *turning and returning*, so frequently in the old; as appears not onely

onely by the Syriack, which so renders it, but by those places in the new Testament, where the one is put to explain the other; as in that of S. Paul now quoted. And that the word, *turning*, is of as large sense, as I speak of, I shall need go no further for proof, then to the words of our Saviour to S. Paul, even now mentioned. But this will appear better by the ensuing discourse of the parts of *repentance*.

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Repentance (as any one almost may gather by the definition thereof) hath two parts, according to the two terms, *à quo*, & *ad quem*. And *aversion* or *turning away* from Satan and sin, that is the first part; then a *conversion*, or *turning unto* God by newness of life; that is the second part. The one is a *falling off from the Creature*, the other, a *betaking to the Creatour*.

The first, some call *mortification*, from the phrase in Scripture of *dying to sin*, (Rom. 6. Col. 3. 13.) that is, of ceasing to be the servants of sin. The second, *vivification*, from the Scripture phrase, of *living to God*, (Rom. 6. 11. Gal. 2. 19.) that is, the beginning to be to Godward, (the first receiving virtue from Christs death; the other, from his resurrection;) for *to live*, in the Scripture notion, is as much as *to be*; *to die*, as *not to be*. Because therefore to turn away from Satan and sinne, is to renounce them, and to be no more (theirs) under them, it is called *dying to sin*: And because turning to God by newness of life, is to become his, and be that to him, which before we were not, it is called *living to God*.

Vide Rom.
8. 13.
Col. 3. 5.

Eph. 2. 5.
Col. 2. 13.

But the more usuall name of the first part of Repentance,

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Psa. 51. 11

Esa. 57. 15.
66. 2.

penitance, or the act of *aversion*, or *turning away*, is *contrition*; a term borrowed from the old Testament. The other part is simply called *conversion* unto God, (or by some, *regeneration*, or *newnesse of life*.) I shall use some of these terms, so as not to neglect the rest. And the first part of repentance I will call *contrition*, or *dying to sin*, as the most easie expression.

Contrition, or *dying unto sin*, hath sometimes the whole name of repentance and turning given to it; namely, as often as the thing to be turned from is solely mentioned. As *Heb. 6. 1.* we have *repentance from dead works*. *S. Peter* saith to *Simon Magnus*, *Act. 8.* *Repent of thy wickednesse*. *S. Paul*, *2 Cor. 12. 21.* speaks of *repenting of uncleannesse, fornication, lasciviousnesse*. In all which, and the like places, repentance seems to signifie onely *contrition*, or the act of *aversion* and turning away from sin. Otherwise, as I have already said, it signifies the whole act of our turning, from the beginning to the end, as appears plainly, either when both terms are mentioned, or but the thing or terme to be turned unto, as *Act. 20. 21.* *Repentance unto God*; and *Act. 26.* where *S. Paul* saith, that he *preached both to the Jews and Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God*. For no man can turne to God, unless he first have turned from the Devil.

But to leave words, and come to the matter. *Contrition*, or *dying unto sin*, is such a *compunction of the heart for the same*, as is joyned with a purpose to leave and forsake it. It hath therefore, as you see, two parts or degrees. The first is a *compunction of the heart for*

sin;

sin; the second, a purpose to forsake and renounce sin.

The one is a turning away from sin, in the affections or passions of the minde; the other is a turning of the will.

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Compunction is a turning in the affections and passions of the minde; and that not of one passion onely, but of every passion, wherewith we abhor and flye a thing as evil, as Fear, Grief, and Hate; for we must turn with our whole hearts. Feare leadeth the rank, and trembleth at the wrath of God and dreadfull judgement to come, when it shall be said to every unrepentant sinner, *Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels, there to be tormented for ever and ever.* For feare is of an evil to come.

Next comes Grief, and laments that ever it was committed, whereby we have incurred so great an evil, as to become vassals of Satan; and the losse of so great a good, as the favour of Almighty God: yea, of so good and gracious a God, as saith again and again, *As I live, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he turn from his wicked waies, and live.* What wretch would have lost the favour of such a God as this? O that it were to do again, I would never do it. For we grieve at the presence of evil, and absence of good; as we joy in the contrary.

Thirdly comes Hate, and begins to loath and detest sin as a thing not onely huttfull, but ugly and abominable, a foule and beastly thing, most contrary to, and unbecoming the nature and excellency of a reasonable creature, as man is. For we hate that

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which is contrary, and love that which is agreeable to us.

These are the severall motions and degrees of that *compunction of heart*, whereby a repentant soul turneth from his sin. And that this is the order of them, may appear, because that is alwaies first, which may be without the rest, Now a man may tremble at Gods judgements for sin and wrath to come, and yet not grieve for them; yea, a man may tremble and grieve too for his sins, and yet not hate and loath them.

But all these repentant passions of compunction, though diverse in themselves, yet are wont to be comprehended under the name of sorrow and remorse for sin; not as though that were the onely passion in our compunction; but because all passions of the minde, which spring from the apprehension and sense of evil, are grievous and painfull, and so may, as in a generall name, be comprehended under the word, *sorrow*: as the contrary passions, being pleasing and delightfull to nature, may be, and are wont to be comprehended under the name of *pleasure*. For *dolor* and *voluptas*, pain and pleasure, divide all the passions between them. *Omnem operationem, saith Aristotle, comitatur aut voluptas aut dolor*. Though yet there be among the dolefull passions, a passion peculiarly called *tristitia*, or *sorrow*; and among the delightfull passions also, one in speciall called *letitia*, or *joy*.

But all this feare and trembling at the wrath of God to come for sin, this sorrow for sin, this hating and loathing of sin, will not make our contrition full
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and perfect, unlesse our will also do his part, and resolve to forsake and leave it. For so I defined true contrition, or dying to sin, to be *a compunction of the heart for sin, with a will and resolution to forsake it.*

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Hath then the wrath of God Almighty, and the everlasting woe denounced to all impenitent sinners, made thee fear and tremble? Have thy tremblings been seconded with a true and hearty sorrow for thy sins? Hath thy sorrow been such, as brought forth hate and loathing of sin, so that sin appeared ugly and abominable unto thee? Hath there then followed a will to be rid of it, a purpose to forsake and leave it? Then art thou truly contrite and dead to sin-ward. With this last act thy service of sinne gives up the ghost. Thou hast turned away, bidden farewell, shaken hands with sin and Satan.

An effect of this contrition is Confession: when out of a contrite and wounded heart, we acknowledge and lay open our sins before the face of Almighty God (our heavenly Father) begging pardon and forgivenesse for them; a duty alwaies necessary to be performed to God himselfe, whom we have chiefly and principally offended; and in some cases also convenient to be made unto his Ministers, not onely for advice, but for consolation; by that power and authority which God hath given them, to exercise in his name, according to that, *Whose sins ye remit, shall be remitted.* For if we confesse our sins (saith S. John 1 Epist. 1.9.) *he is faithfull and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all our unrighteousnesse;* and Prov. 28.13. *He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper; but who so confesseth and forsaketh them, shall finde mercy.*

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Thus

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Thus have we seen the severall degrees and steps of contrition and dying to sinne; trembling at the fearfull doom and vengeance due unto it, grieving for it, hating and loathing it, a will and purpose to forsake and leave it, together with the common effect of them, *confession*. And so we are now arrived at the main *cardo* and hinge of repentance. The joint or second part thereof, in which Aversion or Conversion meet and are knit together: for where the act of aversion from sin endeth, there conversion unto God begins. The last act of turning from sin, was that of the will, to forsake and leave it. The same act is our beginning of our turning unto God. Nor can any man have a purpose to lead a new life, but he must withall resolve to leave sin. This is then the main joint of repentance, where the Spirit and grace of God (the *ὁ πνεῦμα* of our regeneration, which from the beginning stirred our hearts) gives the great and powerfull life, which doth the deed. Here, and not before now, the faith of the Gospel, which applies and reacheth hold of Christ, first comes in to give life unto repentance, as a soule unto a body. Which union of faith and repentance (as I said in the beginning of this discourse) makes the regeneration of a spirituall man, as the union of the soul with the body, makes the generation of a natural man. And as in naturall generation, the soul is not infused at the first conception, but after the body hath been in some measure fashioned and formed: so in our regeneration, or generation spirituall, justifying faith, or that faith whereby the soule flies unto, and relies upon Christ, hath no place till repen-

repentance be come to the last degree of contrition. For then our Saviour inviteth a sinner to come unto him, and not till then: *Come unto me*, saith he, *all ye that labour, and are heavie laden*, (that is, all ye that are contrite, and groane under the burden of your sins) *and I will ease you*. Till then he invites them not, as being not till then fit to be eased; *For the whole hath no need of the Physician, but the sick*. I speak not of an *historicall* faith, whereby a man beleeves in generall, that Christ is the Saviour of mankinde; nor of a *legal*, wherewith a man beleeves the punishments and threatnings of the Law, (for these may be, yea are before repentance) but of a *saving* faith, which applies Christ as a salve to a sick and wounded soul.

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But now, to dwell no longer upon the connexion of the two parts, let us see what are the degrees also of this second part; namely, of *turning and living unto God*, in a new and reformed life, answerable to the degrees of the former part, which was dying and turning from sin. Where first we are to know, that because turning to a thing, and turning from a thing, are motions of a contrary nature; therefore the degrees of our turning to God, are to be ranked in a cleane contrary order to those of our turning from sin. For the first degree here, is the act of the will, which as it concluded our turning from sin, in our resolution to forsake it; so it begins our turning unto God, by a firm purpose of heart to serve him thenceforth in newnesse of life; after this, the affections begin to act their parts answerably, and as it were, to eccho the good choice the will hath made.

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First

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First *love*, when a man begins to finde himselfe affected and enamoured with this change of life; after *love*, comes *delight*, when the Penitent takes some pleasure in doing the duties whereby God is served, and findes joy and comfort in his favour. From whence in the third place springs *hope* of the reward; namely, to be partaker of the glory and life to come, promised unto all those who unfeignedly turn to God, and set themselves to do his will. But we must know, that these affections appear not all at once, nor in like measure, but according as a mans growth and proficiency in conversion, is more or lesse.

Howsoever the inseparable effects of this second part of repentance, are *good works*, or, as the Scripture calls them, *works worthy of*, or *meet for*, or *becoming repentance*; that is, works of Religion towards God, and of righteousnesse towards men. I shewed, saith S. Paul, *Act. 26. 20. first to the Jews, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.* Without such works, he that saith he is turned unto God, and yet doth them not, is a liew, and deceives his own soul.

Thus much of the second part of repentance. I will conclude this whole discourse with these two excellent descriptions of repentance in the Prophets. *Esay* and *Ezechiel*, which contain the sum of what I have hitherto spoken concerning the same.

For thus saith *Esay*, chap. 1. *Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from mine eyes, saith the Lord, cease to do evil. This is the first part of repentance. Learn to do well, seeke judgement, relieve the oppres-*

oppressed, judge the fatherlesse, plead for the widow.
This is the second part.

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Ezec. chap. 33. Thus, When I say unto the wicked (saith the Lord) thou shalt surely die: If he turne from his sin [there is contrition the first part] and do that which is lawfull and right; if he restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity [here ye see the fruit of a new life, the second part] he shall surely live, he shall not die.

Beleeve the Gospel.

Thus much shall suffice to have spoken of *repentance*, the first part of our regeneration. I come to the second, *faith in the Gospel, Repent, and beleeve the Gospel.* Where first I shall shew, what this *Gospel* is; secondly, what it is to *beleeve* it; or what is that faith concerning it, which our Saviour here requires.

For the first; *The Gospel is the glad tidings of salvation, to be attained by Christ; who by taking away of sin, reconcileth us unto his Father, that through him we might turn unto God, and perform service and obedience acceptable unto eternall life.* Before I prove every part of this description out of Scripture, and explain the same, as shall be needfull for your understanding; let us first speak of the *antiquity* of this *Gospel*; and shew when these glad tidings were made known to the sons of men.

I know therefore, that albeit the fulfilling and solemn publication thereof, were not untill our Saviours coming, yet the promise of the same was from
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the daies of old, even as ancient as the time of mans sin; and afterwards continued and repeated at the time of the Covenant of the Law; untill the Mediatour of the new Covenant came in the flesh. For when the Devil, abusing the shape of a Serpent, had seduced our first parents unto sinne, and had gotten dominion over them and theirs by this title, the Gospel or promise of a Redeemer (that they might not be without all comfort) was given them in these words, *The Seed of the woman shall break the Serpents head.* The Serpents head is Satans sovereignty, which is *Principatus mortis*, the sovereignty or principality of death; a Sovereignty, that whosoever is under, is liable to death both temporall and eternall; the power thereof consisting not in saving and giving life, but in destroying both of body and soule. The Sword whereby this dominion is obtained, the Scepter whereby it is maintained, or, as *S. Paul* speaks, the *sting* of this Serpents head, is *sin*. This is that which got this dominion at the first, and the title whereby he still maintaineth the remainder of his jurisdiction in the world. This Sovereignty, this headship of the Devil, not to be born of mankinde, the *Seed of the woman* (which is Christ our Lord) should one day destroy and overthrow; as was then promised, and we at this day see fulfilled.

But this promise was generall, and not yet restrained to any part of mankind, but so that any son of *Adam* might for ought that was yet revealed, be the progenitor of that seed, which should deliver man from the devils thralldome, and reconcile him

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to God. But when God called *Abraham* forth of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, the promise was made more speciall, being restrained to the off-spring of his loynes; For the Almighty tels him once, and again, and the third time, that *in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed*, *Gen. 12.3.* [18.18.] 22. 18.

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Now *Abraham* had two sons, *Ishmael* the son of the bond-woman, and *Isaac* the son of *Sarah* his wife: of which of these two the promised seed should come was yet indifferent, till God entailed it to *Isaac*, both telling *Abraham*, that in *Isaac* his seed should be called, and repeating to *Isaac* the promise made to *Abraham*. That in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed.

Isaac had two sons, *Esau* and *Jacob*, *Esau* was excluded, and the promise entailed to *Jacob*; that in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed; *Gen. 28. 14.* that is, the blessed seed should come out of his loynes.

Of *Jacob* came the twelve *Patriarchs*, and of them the twelve tribes of *Israel*, among whom the promise of the blessed seed was entailed to *Judah*, and of him prophecyed that *Shilo*, that is, the Saviour or peace-maker, to whom the nations of the earth were to be gathered, should come. The Scepter, saith the Text, shall not depart from *Judah*, nor a law-giver from between his feet, untill *Shiloh* come, and unto him the gathering of the people be.

After this tribe was multiplied; and some hundreds of years together with the other tribes settled in the land of *Canaan*, the promise was made yet more speciall

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speciall and entailed to *David*, a man of that tribe ; whom God exalted to be King of his people, as a type of that blessed King to come. And to this all the Prophets bear witness, that *Messiah* the Redeemer should be a *rod out of the stem of Jesse* ; a *branch* or *Impe* of *David*, the son and heir of *Dauids house* ; yea another *David*. For under these termes *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Zachary*, prophecy of him, and the rest of the Prophets to like purpose.

And this was the last limitation of the blessed Seed untill the Angel *Gabriel* was sent of God to a Virgin of the house of *David*, with a message that God had chosen her of all *Dauids house* to be that *highly favoured one*, and that blessed Mother of the great King, who should be called the *Son of the highest*, of whose kingdome there should be no end.

Thus was the Gospel, or glad tydings of a Redeemer prophecyed ; and not onely so, but it was also signified and sealed by the types and shadowes of the Law. For the legal sacrifices, which were offered to make atonement for sinne, were nothing else but shadowes and representations of that offering upon the Crosse, which *Messiah* was one day to make of himself for the sinnes of the world. For the way whereby the blessed Seed should vanquish *Satan*, and redeem his Elect out of his power and jurisdiction ; was by becoming a sacrifice for sinne, so to cancell the title, whereby the devil held the world in thraldome.

This was foreshewed unto *Abraham*, unto whose loines as ye have heard the promise of the blessed Seed was first confined, For when *Sarah* had born him

him his son *Isaac*, the son wherein his seed should be called, and so either himself to be that happy seed, or the progenitor of the same: God to reveal unto him by way of mysteric, how that seed of his should make all the nations of the earth blessed, commanded him to take his son *Isaac* the onely hope and pledge of that happy and blessed seed, and to offer him for a burnt-offering to the Lord upon the mountains of *Moriah*, to intimate and signifie that this blessed seed of *Abraham* should suffer death, and by sacrifice of himself redeem the world from the claws of the Serpent; yea and more then so, that he should be offered even in that very place, even in the land of *Moriah*; and so he was; for there was *Jerusalem* for sacrifice, and the Temple afterwards builded. But when *Abraham* had brought this son to the place appointed, had built an Altar there, and made all things fit, and was now ready to slay his son, the Angel of the Lord stayed his hand, and shewed him a Ram caught in a thicket by the horns, which Ram *Abraham* took and offered for a burnt offering in stead of his own son: to signifie that the offering of the *blessed seed* should be yet suspended, and that God in the mean while would accept the offerings of Bulls and Rams, as a pledge of that expiation which the blessed seed of *Abraham* should one day make. So this wonderfull story was to be the key of the sacrifices of the Law, whereby it might be known what they meant, and wherefore they were intended: namely, that the blood of Bulls and Rams and other beasts of themselves do not work atonement for sin, but onely as they were

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ordained by God to stand for types and pledges of the sacrifice of Christ to come: which that they might the more lively expresse, God so disposed that that very place where the Ram was offered in stead of *Isaac*, should be the place of sacrifice for *Israel*. For there it was where the Lord answered *David* by fire from heaven, and so designed it for the place which he had chosen for his Altar. There *David* pitched him a tabernacle; there *Solomon* built him his Temple.

By all which it is plain and manifest that the Fathers in the old Testament under the Law were saved by Christ as well as we, but with this difference, that to them Christ was but in promise, and hoped for; to us he is already sent and exhibited. To them the mysterie of redemption in him was obscure and dark, as known but for the generall, *That it should be*; not in particular for the manner, *how it should be*: but to us all is open and revealed; Their faith groaped after shadowes, but ours lays hold on the substance. And let this information be the use of this discourse.

This being præmised touching the promise of Christ so long before he came, and how the mysterie of his Gospel was pourtrayed in types and shadowes before it was openly revealed and exhibited, I come to confirme and explain the description I gave thereof; namely, *That it is the glad tydings of salvation to be attained in Christ, &c.* I say, it is the glad tydings, for so the name thereof both in the Greek and in our English imports: For *spell* in old English was to speak or read, and so *Gospel* is as much as *good spell*, that

that is, the good speak or say, the good tydings, the word of good news: Under which name it was revealed by the Angel to the Shepherds who were watching their flock in the fields the night our Saviour was born; *Behold, saith the Angel, I bring you tydings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.*

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I call it the *glad tydings of Salvation to be attained by Christ*, for so much the name of Saviour implies. And saith S. Paul 1 Tim. 1. 15. *Tis a faithfull saying, and worthy of all acceptation, That Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. Neither is there, saith S. Peter Acts 4. Salvation in any other: For there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.*

The next words I used, shew the way and manner how and whereby Christ purchased this salvation unto men, and the means whereby it is attained through him: Namely, *by cancelling of sinne, by his atonement made he reconciles us to his Father, that we through him might turn unto God, and performe works of obedience, acceptable unto eternal life.* All which was foretold by Daniel, ch. 9. where prophecying of the time of Messiahs coming, he said, *Seventy weeks were determined upon the people, and upon the holy city, to finish transgression, and to make an end of sinne, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness.*

To prove in particular that Christ dyed for sin, I shall not need. No man that ever read the Gospel but knowes it; that by the atonement he made for
sinne

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sinne by death, he hath reconciled us to his Father, is as evident, by what S. Paul tels us 1 Cor. 5. 19. *That God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses to them.* That the *ministry of the Gospel is the Ministry of reconciliation: whose Ministers as Embassadors for Christ, beseech men in Christs stead to be reconciled unto God.* For by reason of sin all mankinde is at enmity with God, and liable to eternall wrath: Christ, by taking our sinnes upon him, abolished this enmity, and set us at peace with God his Father, according to that the Quire of Angels sang at his blessed birth, *Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, and good will towards men:* that is, glory be ascribed to God, for as much as peace was come upon earth, and good will towards men.

All this is plain, but that which the greatest part of men (as may be guessed by their practise) seem to make question of, is, that last parcell of my description: That therefore Christ took away sinne and reconciled us to his Father, *that we might through him, whose righteousness is imputed to us, perform works of piety and obedience which God should accept, and crown with eternall life.* But that this is also a part of the Gospel, as well as the former, is plain and evident. First, by that of S. Peter 1 Epist. c. 2. ver. 24. where he tels us, that *Christ his own self bare our sinnes in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sinne, might live unto righteousness.* Secondly, by that of the Apostle Paul to Titus 2. 11. *The grace of God (saith he) that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men: Wherefore? teaching us that denying ungodlinesse*

ungodlinesse and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for the blessed hope, the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ: Who gave himselfe for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himselfe a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Is not this plain? Thirdly, by that of the same Apostle, Eph. 2. 10. where the Apostle having told us that we are saved by grace, through faith, and not of works (that is, not according to the Covenant of works, wherein the exact performance was required) lest any man should boast; namely, that he was not beholding to God for grace and favour in rewarding him; he addeth presently, lest his meaning might be mistaken, *That we are Gods workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained* (προστούμεν) *that we should walke in them.* As if he should say, Though of our selves we are no waies able to perform those works of obedience, ordained by God afore time in his Law, for us to walk in, yet God hath, as it were, now new created us in Christ, that we might performe them in him; namely, by way of acceptation, though they come short of that exactnesse which the Law requireth. And thus to be saved, is to be saved by grace and favour, and not by merit of works, because the foundation whereby our selves and services are approved in the eyes of God, and have promise of reward, is the meer favour of God in Jesus Christ, and not any thing in us or them.

Agreeable to these Scriptures, is that in the Revelation, where glory is ascribed to Jesus Christ, who

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loved us, and washed us from our sins in his blood, and hath made us Kings and Priests unto God his Father; that is, that he might make us Kings and Priests unto God his Father. For [and] is here to be taken. *τελειῶς*, for [ut:] Kings, to subdue the world, the flesh, and the devil; Priests, to offer Sacrifices of prayer, thanksgiving, works of mercy, and other acceptable services to our heavenly Father.

Moreover and besides these expresse Scriptures, this truth may be yet further confirmed by demonstration and reason: *Repentance is a forsaking of sin to serve God in newnesse of life*; Now the Gospel includes repentance as the subject wherein it worketh, as the body which it enliveneth as a soul: Or to use a similitude from weaving, repentance is the warp of the Gospel, and the Gospel the woof of repentance; repentance is the warp which the Gospel, by the shuttle of faith, runs through as the woof, whence proceedeth the web of regeneration. Therefore is repentance every where joyned with the Gospel; both *John Baptist* and our Saviour so published it, *Repent, for the kingdome of heaven is at hand: Repent, and believe the Gospel*. Our Saviour in his last words, or commission to his Disciples, tells them, *Luk. 24. 47.* that *repentance and remission of sins* (which is the Gospel) *should be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem*. All which is elsewhere comprised in the sole name of *preaching the Gospel*; which argues that the Gospel of Christ, and consequently our faith in the same, supposeth repentance as a ground to do its work upon. So *S. Peter*, in his first Sermon, *Act. 2. 38.* conjoyneth

joyneth them, *Repent* (saith he) *and be baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins*; as if he should say, *Repent*; and that thy repentance may be available, betake thy self to Christ, become a member of his Kingdome. S. Paul likewise taught the Gospel in like manner, for himselfe tells us so, *Act. 20. 21.* that he testified both to *Jews and Gentiles, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.* Repentance therefore, and the Gospel, cannot be separated. If repentance includes newnesse of life and good works, the Gospel doth so. For Christ is the way of repentance; without repentance there is no use of Christ, and without Christ repentance is unavailable, and nothing worth: for without him, we can neither be quit of the sins we forsake, nor turn by a new life unto God, with hope of being received. He is the blessed *Ferryman*, and his Gospel is the Boat, provided by the unspeakable mercy of God, for the passage of this sea. As therefore in repentance, we forsake sin, to serve God in newnesse of life; so in the tenour of the Gospel, Christ delivers us from sin, that we might through faith in him, bring forth the fruits and works of a new life, acceptable to our heavenly Father.

Hence it is that we shall be judged, and receive our sentence at the last day, according to our works, *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me: For as much as ye have*

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done

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done these things unto the least of my brethren, ye have done them unto me. Lord ! how do those look to be saved at that day, who think good works not required to salvation, and accordingly do them not ? Can our Saviour passe this blessed sentence upon them ? no, assuredly he will not.

But if the case be thus in the Gospel, what is the reason, will some men say, that the Apostle tels us, that we Christians are *no longer under the Law, nor justified by the works of the Law, but under grace, and justified by faith only*?

I answer, It is true, that we are justified; that is, freed and acquitted from sin, by faith only, but besides justification, there is sanctification, the works of piety towards God, and righteousness towards men, as the fruits, yea, as the end of our justification, required to eternall life ; for therefore we are justified, that we might do works acceptable to our heavenly Father, through the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, ^{which} of our selves we could not) and so obtain the reward he hath promised the doers of them.

As for the Law, it is to be considered either as a *rule*, and so we are bound to conform, and frame our actions to it, (for who dare deny but that a Christian is bound to fear God, and keepe his commandments ?) or the Law may be considered as it is taken for the *Covenant of works*. The Apostle, when he disputes of this argument of the Law, meaneth the Covenant of works, which he also calls, *Rom. 3. The law of works* : And by faith, and the law of faith, he understands the Covenant of grace, the condition whereof is faith ; as will easily appeare to him that

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that shall diligently read the third and fourth chapters of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, where he expressly changeth those tearms of *law* and *faith* into the equivalent appellations of the *two Covenants*.

Now as the Law is taken for the *Covenant of works* (the seal whereof was circumcision) tis true, we are not under it. For the *Covenant of works*, called by the Apostle, the *Law*, is that *Covenant* wherein works are the condition on our part, which if we perform in every point as the Law requires, we are justified before God, as keepers of his *Covenant*. Otherwise, if we faile in the least thing, we are condemned as guilty of the breach thereof. Under this *Covenant* we are not; for if we were, and to be judged according to it, alas who could be saved! For, *all* (saith the Apostle) *have sinned, and come short of the glory of God. There is none righteous, no not one.*

But the *Covenant* we are under, is, *Believe, and thou shalt be saved*; the *Covenant of grace*: the condition of which *Covenant*, on our part, is not the doing of works which may abide the touch-stone of the Law; but faith in Jesus Christ, which makes our works, though of themselves insufficient, and short of what the Law requires, accepted of God, and capable of reward. This is that *S. John* saith, 1 *Ep.* 5.3,4. that to love God, is to keep his commandments, and his commandments (now under the Gospel) are not grievous. For whosoever is borne of God, overcomes the world. And this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our Faith, &c. Whence our Saviour also saith, that his yoke (the yoke of the Gospel) was easie, and his burden light. The condition of the first

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Covenant, was that which we could not do; the condition of the second Covenant, is that which enableth us to do, and makes accepted what we can do; and this is the Covenant of the Gospel, a Covenant of favour and grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

And thus we have seen what the Apostles meaning is, when he saith, *We are not under the Law, but under grace.* Not as though a Christian were not bound to walk after Gods commandments, but that the exact keeping of them, is not the condition whereby we are justified in the new Covenant, but faith in Jesus Christ, by whom whosoever cometh unto the Father is accepted, be his offering never so mean, so it be tendered with sincerity and truth of heart.

Most unworthy therefore should we be, if this so great and unspeakable favour of Almighty God, our heavenly Father, offered us in the Gospel, if when he hath given us his onely Son, to make the yoke of our obedience easie, and possible to be borne, we contemning this superabundant grace, should renounce to weare and draw them. Far be it from the heart of a Christian, to think it possible to have any benefit by Christ, as long as he stands thus affected; or ever to win the prize of eternall life, without running the race appointed thereunto: *Shall we sin that grace may abound?* saith S. Paul, *God forbid.*

Thus much of the Gospel, Now of Faith, whereby we are partakers of the grace therein, being the condition of the new Covenant which God hath struck with men.

Faith.

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Faith, is to beleeve the Gospel; that is, to attain salvation by Christ. But there is a threefold Faith wherewith men beleeve in Christ. 1. There is a *false* faith. 2. There is a *true* faith, but not a saving; and 3. there is a *saving* faith.

A *false* faith, is to beleeve to attain salvation by Christ, any other way then God hath ordained; as namely, to beleeve to attain salvation through him, without works of obedience, to be accepted of God in him. Which is a faith whereof there is no Gospel, as you have already heard. A *true* faith, is to beleeve salvation to be attained through obedience to God in Jesus Christ, who by his merits and satisfaction for sin, makes our selves and our works acceptable to God his Father. A *saving* and *justifying* faith, is to beleeve this, so as to embrace and lay hold upon Christ for that end, to apply our selves unto him, and relye upon him, that we may through him performe these works of obedience, which God hath promised to reward with eternall life. For a justifying faith staies not onely in the brain, but stirs up the will to receive and enjoy the good beleeved according as it is promised. This motion or election of the will, is that which maketh the difference between a saving Faith, which joyns us to Christ, and that which is true indeed, but not saving, but dogmaticall and opinionative onely. And this motion, or applying of the will to Christ, this embracing of Christ and the promises of the Gospel through him, is that which the Scripture, when it speaks of this faith, calleth *coming unto Christ*, or *the receiving of him*. Come unto me, all ye that are heaue laden, and

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I will

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14, 15.*

I will ease you, Matth. 11. vide Joh. 5. 40. 6. 37, 44. 45. So for receiving Joh. 1. 12. As many as received him, to them he gave power (or priviledge) to be the sons of God, even to them that beleeve in his Name; where receiving and beleeving one expound another.

Now if this be the faith which is saving, and unites us unto Christ, and none other; then it is plain, that a saving faith cannot be severed from good works, because no man can embrace Christ as he is promised, but he must apply himself to do them. Would we then know whether our faith be true and saving, and not counterfeit? This is the onely signe and note whereby we may know it: if we finde these fruits thereof in our lives and conversations. For, 1 Joh. 1. 8. *If we say we have fellowship with Christ, and walk in darknesse, we lye, and do not the truth. ch. 2. Hereby we know that we know him, (namely, to be our Advocate with the Father, and the propitiation for our sins) if we keep his commandments. And ch 3. 7. Little children, let no man deceive you. He that doth righteousness is righteous, even as Christ is righteous.* For if every one that beleeves in Christ truly and savingly, beleeves that salvation is to be attained by obeying God in him, and so embraceth and laies hold on him for that end; how can such a ones faith be fruitlesse?

J E R.



J E R. 10. vers. 11.

Thus shall yee say unto them, The Gods that made not the Heavens and the Earth, (even) they shall perish from the Earth, and from under the Heavens.



THESE words are written in the *Chaldee* tongue, whereas the rest of the Prophecy is in the Hebrew; the reason whereof you shall then have, when we have first seen the Occasion, Coherence and summe of the words; which is as followeth: The Prophet having in the end of the last Chapter threatned the *Jews*, and all the neighbour Nations, with captivity, *Edom*, *Ammon*, *Moab*, and the *Arabians* of the wilderness: In this Chapter leaving out the rest he singles out the *Jews*, to instruct them for their demeanour and carriage in their captivity; To wit, that they should not learn the way of the Heathen whither they should be carried, that they should not worship the signes of Heaven, nor regard their Gods of Gold and Silver, which could do neither evill nor good.

But lest they should think they had acquit themselves well, if they abstained from what they should see the Heathen doe, he tels them, they must yet doe more then this, they must make open profession against their Gods; they must proclaime against their

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their Idolatry and false worship; and therefore in the middle of the exhortation, he enterlaceth these words in the *Chaldee* tongue, *Thus shall ye say, &c.*

These words then contain a Proclamation, which the *Jews* are enjoyned from God to make against the Gods of the *Gentiles*, when they should be carried captive to *Babylon*: wherein are to be considered two things, 1. The proclaiming it self. 2. The summe of the Proclamation: The proclaiming, in these words, *Thus shall ye say unto them*: the summe of the Proclamation in these words, *The Gods which have not made the heavens and the earth, &c.* In the proclaiming are three things considerable; 1. The Person, who. 2. The Persons, to whom. 3. The manner, how. The Persons who, in the word *Yee*. *Yee Jews*, who are the worshippers of the living God; ye captive *Jews* carried out of your own land, and living as slaves and vassals under your proud Lords the *Babylonians*; *Ye shall say unto them*. 2. The Persons to whom, *To them*, what them? even your Lordly Masters of *Babylon*; *ye shall say unto them*. 3. The manner how; *Thus*, that is, not in cryptick, or mysticall termes, or in your own Hebrew mutterings, a language which they understand not; But in the vulgar tongue of *Babylon*; *Thus shall ye say unto them*, --- &c. אלהים לא עשו שמים וארץ, *The Gods which have not made the heavens and the earth, &c.*

In the second part, which I called the summe of the proclamation, are two things contained. 1. A description of false Gods in these words, *The Gods which made not the heavens and the earth*. 2. Their doome in these words, *they shall perish from the earth, and from these heavens.* I

I shall speake of these in order, and first of the persons who must make this Proclamation, namely, the *Israelites*; ye *Israelites*, ye servants of the God of heaven; ye sons of promise, and peculiar heritage of the Lord of hosts; ye, upon whom the dew of grace is shed from heaven; ye to whom the most high hath given his Oracles, and made his name known amongst you; *ye shall say unto them*; Hence I observe;

That it is the office of every one, who is a member of Gods Church and the child of Grace, to endeavour to bring others to the knowledge of God and godlinesse. First, all things in nature desire to covet the propagation of that kinde, wherein themselves are ranked. The fire is no sooner kindled, but presently it will turne all it lays hold upon, into its own nature: as it is with the fire of nature, so must it be with the fire of Grace: it is as possible for the Sun to want light, and the fire to be without heat, as the fire of grace to be kindled in their hearts; who endeavour not to enflame others with the same heavenly fire.

Doe we not see every Citizen, every member of any Company or Society, how eagerly they desire, and how forward they are to further the enlargement of that Common-wealth and Society, whereof they are members? What one nobly descended, but desireth the enlargement continually, of his house and kindred? What true English man but desireth the encrease of our Kings subjects, the amplifying of his dominions, and the Revenues of his Crown? We would account them monsters who should

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should be otherwise affected; nay unworthy to live any longer as members, or enjoy the rights of subjects, how canst thou then be a member of Gods kingdome and not labour the encrease of Gods subjects? or how canst thou usurpe the name of a Christian, or think thy self a child of Grace, who endeavorest not the propagation of the heavenly hierarchie, whereof thou callest thy self a member? The woman of *Samaria* had no sooner found the *Messias*, but she runs and calls the whole City to be partakers of her happiness: *Cornelius* calleth all his kinsfolke and near friends *Acts 10.* to hear the preaching of *Peter*: and Christ bids *Peter*, *Luke 22. 32.* *When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.*

S. Paul in nothing more expressed the Character of a Christian then in this: In the presence of *Agrippa* so fervent was his wish, that all who heard him that day were even as he was: So great was his zeal, *Rom. 9. 3.* that so his losse might have been recompensed with the gaining of the whole Jewish nation unto Christ, he could have been willing to be taken out of the Roll himself: *I could wish (saith he) that my self were accursed from Christ for my brethren my kinsmen according to the flesh.*

The devill was no sooner fallen, but he presently laboured to bring Man to the same ruine; nay the restless compasser still goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking continually whom he may devour: his instruments are like him; The sons of *Belial*, how busie are they in debauching others, and making them like themselves? The Pharisees ran over sea and land, and spared no labour to bring numbers to their

their sect, though but to make them as Christ speaks *fili Gehennæ, sons of hell*. The Jesuits how run they up and down into all corners of the world, from the Sun rising unto the going down thereof, to propagate their heresies? nay, the very Mahumetans run about the world to gain Profelytes for their beastly Prophet *Mahomet*: And shall the children of the kingdome of heaven onely, want this desire, this zeal, this endeavour? Impossible: And if any such seem to be, who doe it not, surely they are but bastards, and such as God will never own to be his.

Some report of Mules and other such like of Mongrell and mixt generation, that they beget not again: even such mongrels are those Christians who beget not unto God, who labour not the conversion and drawing of others unto Christ: we pray unto God every day, *Let thy kingdome come*: Let that which is our daily prayer, be also our daily endeavour, even of all that say to God [*Our Father*;] else he will be no father of ours. Indeed, the kingdome of God shall come in despite of the devill and all his Regiment, but happy are those who further it; *For those that turne many unto righteousness, shall shine as the stars in the firmament for evermore.*

One thing more I have to observe from the condition of the persons to whom this word (*Yee*) hath relation: *Yee shall say*; namely, ye captives, ye whom the Lord your God hath given into the hands of your enemies, and made you as the off-scouring and refuse in the midst of the people; yee whose:

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whose City, the glory of the whole earth, is consumed with fire, whose Priests and Princes are all slain with the sword, and the remnant of your people carried into a strange land; ye a people overwhelmed with the floods of affliction, and (as farre as the eye of flesh can see) forsaken of the God whom ye worshipped: ye, even ye, *shall say unto them, The Gods, &c.* Hence observe, no man so fit to glorifie God, whether by confession of the mouth, or devotion of the heart, as his servants when they are humbled by affliction.

The reasons are plain; for, first, it is the love of the world which quencheth our love toward God; so long as the world pleaseth us, so long our love to God is weak and feeble: But if once we are weaned from our delight and content in worldly things, then (if ever) we cleave stedfastly unto God, then are our hearts inflamed, and our whole spirit fixt in heaven, which before stuck fast in earth: even as the fire in coldest weather scorched most, so doth the zeal of Gods servants burn most in the midst of affliction: The righteous are like the Palme tree, which then riseth highest, when the burden laid thereon weigheth heaviest: so it is with them, the weight of their affliction makes them rise up to heaven.

Secondly, in affliction onely it will appear whether men feared and loved God for his own sake or no, or whether for some other worldly respects onely; It is the property of a true Christian not to disclaim God in affliction as hypocrites doe, but then to confesse him most when the world sees least cause

cause why they should at all : untill the stormes and winds came, the house built upon the sand seemed to stand as strong as that upon the rock.

Jer. 12. 11

This tryall was it that Satan would have God put *Job* unto, *Doth Job* (saith he) *fear God for nought? hast thou not made a hedge about him, and about all he hath, &c. But put forth thy hand now and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee unto thy face* : as if he had said, while all things prosper in his hand, who knowes whether he be a man that truly feareth thee, but strike and afflict him, and then it will soon appear what he is : And indeed the devill saw soone what *Job* was unto his little liking, when the weight of his afflictions pressed these words out of his mouth, *Though he kill me I will trust in him.*

For this cause, that it might appear the Church was reared upon no earthly foundation, the wisdom of God would have it planted in Martyrdom, and watered with the blood of his Saints : for the same cause also was the glorious name of *Confessors* in the Primitive Church, given unto those who had held their faith in the time of tryall and persecution: and for this cause would God have the people here to avouch him in the land of their captivity; that the more the world wondred, the more he might be glorified.

Seeing therefore we are most fit to glorifie God in the time of our affliction, let this be a motive unto us both of comfort in the depth of sorrow, and of patience in the worst of pain, always when the hand of God is upon us, confessing with *David Psal. 119. Bonum est Domine quod humiliasti me :*

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It is good Lord that thou hast humbled me.

Next the Persons to whom this Proclamation is to be made, intimated in the word, *them*, *Thus shall ye say unto them*; what *them*? Even your Lords and Masters, even your Lordly Masters, your Rulers, your proud Conquerours.

Sinnes therefore against the Person of God are to be reprov'd without all respect of Persons; such sins are sins of Idolatry, or sins of the first and second Commandement; for when false Gods are worshipped, either mediately or immediately, the Person of God is dishonoured: In these sinnes the caution concerning persons who should reprove, and persons who are to be reprov'd, which in other sinnes wisdom makes considerable, have here no place at all; be the person reprov'g, or the person to be reprov'd, publick or private, greater or lesser, it skilleth not: for in case of Idolatry, the poorest begger on the earth, may admonish the greatest Emperor in the world. Indeed the quality or condition of persons may be opposed to all other respects whatsoever, and so make some time and some place unfit for reproof or admonition; nay, the quality of the persons of men may be such, as doth exclude some persons from reprov'g them: But when the case concerns the Person of God himself, then to spare or regard the persons of men, is Idolatry it self: for this is to honour men more then God himself: This is to suffer God to be dishonoured, lest the honour of men should be impeached. I confesse the danger is great in regard of the flesh, but we must know what our Saviour saith, *he that loveth*

loveth father or mother, yea his own life, better then me, is not worthy of me.

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Thus the glorious Martyr *Ignatius* reproved *Trajan* the Emperor, whilst he was sacrificing to his Gods, even at the very Altar, and in the face of his whole Army being at *Antioch*. And for the same sinne we see here the poor captive *Few* was to reprove his great *Babylonian* Lord, the miserable and contemptible slave the conquerour of the world, the miry foot the head of gold : for *thus shall ye say even to them, The Gods which have not, &c.*

The third and last circumstance to be considered in this act of protesting or proclaiming against the Gods of the heathen, is the manner how it should be done, intimated in the word, *Thus ; Thus shall yee say unto them ;* that is, in plain *Chaldee* not in *Hebrew*, how holy a tongue soever, but in the vulgar tongue of *Babylon ; Thus shall ye say unto them :* Here we see that God will have his Church to utter his oracles in the vulgar tongues of the Nations: when he shall enforme the *Gentiles* of any part of the knowledge of me, *Thus shall yee say unto them :* Surely our Prophets suddain changing of his dialect here was a *Preludium* to that great publishing of Gods name to the *Gentiles* and their vulgar tongues after the *Messias* should come, which *Theodore* avoucheth to have been when he saith, that the words of the Apostles and Prophets were turned into the languages of the *Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Armenians, Scythians, Sauromatans,* and all the languages which any Nation used.

Certainly, to keep the Scriptures in an unknowne

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tongue,

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tongue, is of all other the most unreasonable madness; but to teach Pagans the Articles of their Creed at their first conversion in the Latine tongue, as the *Spaniards* have done with the *Indies*, is most ridiculous folly. Is not the word of God, his revealed will unto his whole Church? But how is it revealed in an unknown tongue? or is the Word of God, a revealed will unto those onely who are learned, and hidden to others?

But if the Scriptures were in vulgar Tongues, they might be occasions of many heresies, by the mistakes of the vulgar, if they might reade them. This is strange: can every Frier in a pulpit, when he preacheth, warrant his words from being mistaken or perverted to heresie? and are the words and sayings of God himself so obnoxious, that they may not be read? Nay, if God himself may not speak in a vulgar tongue, I see far lesse reason why a Frier should: And so should the people know nothing at all concerning God, if a good may not therefore be done, because some will abuse it to evil.

The second main part of my Text follows, the summe of the Proclamation, containing in it two things: first, a description of false Gods, *The gods which made not the heavens and the earth*: secondly, their doom, *They shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens*.

To begin with the first, *the gods which made not, &c.* He saith not, those who were not *Abrahams* Gods, or *Jacobs* Gods, or the gods which brought not *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or such like; but, *the gods which made not the heavens, &c.* Whence note, that men are

are to be dealt with, and perswaded out of the principles they acknowledge and are addicted to. *Eth-nicks*, out of the principles of reason and nature, or the like: *Jews*, out of *Moses* and the Prophets: *Christians*, out of the Gospel: In sum, all sorts of men, from that they are addicted to. This is a Maxime of wisdom, which God himself hath approved.

So the *Jews* acknowledging prophetically Doctrine, are dealt with out of the Prophets, *A Virgin shall bear a Son*. But the *Magi* of the East, being addicted to Astrologic, are drawne to Christ by the apparition of a star; and therefore the star appeared not in *Judea*, because the *Jews* used not to heed such things, they had the Oracles of God; but it appeared in the East, that is, was seen by them onely who dwelt in the East; which made the wise men wonder and joy so much, when afterward it went before them, going to *Bethlehem*.

So *S. Paul*, being to preach a God the *Athenians* knew not, avouched and defended his fact by an Altar of their own, inscribed, ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, whence they might be convinced, that a God whom their fathers knew not, might yet be a God to be worshipped. The same Apostle teacheth *Titus* to convince the *Cretians* out of their own Poets, Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψάλλοντες κατὰ ᾠδὴν, γαστήρες ἀργαί. On the contrary, *S. Peter* having to deale with the *Jews* and *Profelytes*, *Act. 2.* useth no other grounds, but the Prophecies of *Joel* and *David*.

Again, *S. Paul* being to enter with the *Ethnicks* of *Lystra*, *Act. 14. 14.* who would needs have sacrificed to him as to a God, insinuateth with an argument

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from

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from nature, & from the creation of the world: *Why do ye (saith he) these things? we are also men of like passions with you; and preach unto you, that you should turne from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, the earth, the sea, and all things that are therein.*

As it is with divers Sects of Religion, so is it with divers sorts and conditions of men; an argument or motive futable to one sort, is altogether unfit for another: all Vessels are best handled by their *anse*, or eares, on what part soever they stand: he that handleth them otherwise, handleth them but aukwardly: so it is with mens minds, there are in every mans opinion or affections, certain *anse*, or ears, whereon a wise perswader should lay his hold, to draw men unto him. For this cause *Aristotle* in his Rhetoricks describes the severall dispositions of severall sorts of men; of men, of women; of young, of old; of rich, of poor; of noble and ignoble, that a Rhetorician might sute his motives accordingly. A dog is toll'd with a bone, a worme is a bait to catch a fish, a pigeon brings the hawke unto the Faulkeners lure; so must every wise fisher of men, every wise angler of souls, make choice of motives according to the severall dispositions and conditions of the hearers; according to that of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. 20, 21, &c. *Unto the Jews I became a Jew, that I might save the Jews; to them which are without the law, as without the law, that I might gain them that are without the law; to the weake, I became as weake, that I might gaine the weake; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.*

My second observation from these words, is this,
That

That the true God may be known by the principles of Nature, or the creation of the heaven and earth; for that which is a character or note of false gods, must needs likewise imply an argument for the true; *Rectum est index sui & obliqui*: If those who made not the heaven and the earth are false Gods, he then that made them, is the true.

This is that which some call naturall Thologie; others, the assent of the soule to God, by the *scala creaturarum*, the steps whereof are to be ordered as followeth: 1. All men, by God do understand some Person, a living and reasonable Essence.

2. All men will grant that which is God, to be the most excellent of all persons or living Essences.

3. The perfections of a living and reasonable Essence are threefold; in the understanding, in the will, in the faculties of working: In the understanding is wisdom; in the will, goodnesse; in the faculties, power; whatsoever therefore hath a sovereignty in these three, is the most excellent of living and reasonable Essences. All men therefore that want not the ordinary use of reason, will grant, that under the Name of God, they mean him to whom belongs a sovereignty of wisdom, a sovereignty of goodnesse, and a sovereignty of power and might. Thus far we agree and walk together; but the error of the Nations hath been in the application; namely, to whom belonged this sovereignty, and whether it belongs to many, or to one alone.

But howsoever the *Gentiles* in this application, became vain in their imaginations, and transformed

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the glory of this incorruptible Sovereignty into the *image of corruptibility*; yet, as the Apostle saith, *God left them not without a witness, in that these invisible things of him, are seen by the creation of the world.* For a workman is known by his work. The greatest work, and the goodliest work that ever was, is the creation of the world. He then that made the heaven and the earth, is he alone to whom this three-fold Sovereignty belongeth: he alone is Almighty, he alone is All-good, he alone is All-wise.

What greater Power can there be, then to make the heaven and the earth of nothing? what might so mighty, as that which made whatsoever else is mighty? even so many millions of powers as are in the heavens above; so admirable variety of faculties as are found in the earth below? Is there any Wisdome like unto his, who in so manifold a worke, made nothing superfluous or vain, but all things for their end? who ordered and appointed such means for every end, as better could not be devised; who settled so goodly an order, and gave to every thing a law and rule which it should observe? What Goodnesse so unspeakable, as to have bestowed upon every thing some portion of goodnesse, and to have sufficiently furnished them with endowments to attaine and preserve the same? What Goodnesse can be like unto that which he shews unto us, in making and ordaining all that ever he made, fit for our use and service? Thus we see the admirable power, the incomparable wisdome, and unspeakable goodnesse of him that made the heavens and the earth. He therefore is the true and living God, and lives for ever:

Those

Those gods which made not the heavens and the earth, are no Gods; and shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.

Thus have I let you see one part of the scale of the creatures, by which the soul ascends unto God. But there is another half yet behinde, to make a compleat *Jacobs ladder*; for the ascent of the soule unto God, by the contemplation of the creatures, is either the ascent of the understanding to know him, or the ascent of our will, through obedience to worship him. The first is that which I have hitherto spoken of; the second, though it be not here used and applied by our Prophet, yet it is implied by his example in the former, in that he hath therein taught us what use to make of the consideration of the creation of the world, and creatures of God.

The ascent therefore of the will consists in its conformity, and the conformity of all our affections and actions to the will of God, so far as it may be seen in the works of the creatures; for God, in that he hath given them a law, hath, as it were, stamped in them the character of his will, which is the law and rule they observe in working. By this Ladder we may ascend two waies; either by expresse Example, or by Analogie: By expresse example, where the law which the creatures observe in their workings, is the very same which we ought to expresse in our actions. By analogie, when the properties or actions of the creatures, especially if they be otherwise unsuitable unto our nature, are emblematically, and by way of resemblance, applied to admonish us of our duties.

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ties. To this kinde belongs parable-similies, framed according to the will of the applier; whereof we shall finde examples in the Scripture. But because the ascent by example is the firmer and surer, I will onely shew some few examples of it.

We see all naturall agents neglect their private good and proper end, to maintain the publick good of the Universe; the water ascends upward, the aire downward, against nature, to maintain the connexion and indivulsion of the parts of the world: So should every good member of a Common-wealth or Society, passe by his private profit and private pleasure, to further the common good of the weale publick.

Every naturall body will rend and break in peeces, rather then the order of the world should be violated by a penetration of dimensions; so should every good member hazard, yea lose, both his life and estate, for the common behoof of that body whereof he is a member.

All things of inferiour nature, give place without reluctancy to those which have a sublimity of nature above them; the water willingly submitteth unto the aire; the aire unto the fire, &c. yea, the one doth further, as far as it can, the ascent of the other above it: The like should we expresse in the subordination of degrees and conditions amongst men. All things which grow upon the earth, turne their heads and faces upward, toward that, by whose influence they grow and are preserved. So should we unto him, *in whom we live, and move, and have our being.*

These

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These are onely generall instances for a taste, drawn from the generall rule of the creatures, to admonish us of generall duties : If I should from hence take a view of every severall creature in his kinde , I might shew you in clay all ethicall and oeconomicall virtues sampled in one kinde or other of them : *Go to the pismire, thou sluggard, saith Solomon ; Be wise as serpents, saith a wiser then Solomon. The ox knoweth his owner, and the asse his masters crib; but Israel hath not known me, saith the Lord by the Prophet Esay : The stork in the heaven knoweth his appointed time, the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming, saith our Prophet Jeremy : Go to the lilies of the field, and learn of them, saith our Saviour.* To say no more, there is no creature in the world but upbraids us of sinne , in daily and continually breaking the law of our creation , which they so inviolably observe.

We should therefore hence learne to use the creatures not for our bodies onely, to array them, to feed them, and such like, but for the spirituall good of the inward man; that so in them, and with them, we may glorifie our Creatour. God made all the creation for the service of man, but not for the service of his body alone, as most conceive it, but also for the service of his better part, the soule and understanding : We should never therefore use, behold, or looke upon any one of our fellow creatures ; but we should beraised by them unto God ; invited to devotion, and spurred to conforme our wills and affections to the patterne of that eternall will, which they any way expresse.

I.

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I doubt not but the philosophy of *Solomon* was of this strain, when he spake of herbs and trees, and of living creatures ; the fragments which here and there remain in the *Proverbs*, may give us some taste thereof.

If we would do thus , it would abate our pride, and make us know our selves better. Lord, what is man, but the most unreasonable creature upon the face of the earth, the most unjust, carelesse, irregular creature that walks under the Sun ! Consider the marches of that royall host of heaven ; looke upon the fowles of the aire, and fishes of the sea ; survey all that springeth, all that moveth and creepeth upon the earth ; and tell me, from the circumference above, unto the center below , what one creature, what worst creature of Gods making , what silly worme doth so transgresse the law of his creation, as man doth ? And yet man hath reason given him, whereby he knoweth the law and rule he is to follow ; Man hath also a liberty of will : But what doth he with them ? His reason he abuseth to most unreasonable actions ; his will, to most licentious and abominable liberty. It is a wonder the earth can endure to bear him, so vile a burden, or the Sunne to shine upon him, the most unworthy creature in the world.

It remains, I proceed to the Doctrine of false Gods, wherein I shall observe two things ; their destiny it self, which is *perishing*, *They shall perish* ; and the circumstances of this perishing ; *from the earth : and from under these heavens* : I make them two, because they will yeeld different observations and instructions.

To

To begin therefore with the doome or destiny it self, which is perishing, *They shall perish*. These words you see were a prophecy of what was to come upon the gods of the Heathen in after times; for at the time and age wherein they were spoken, things in the world were far otherwise then is foretold they should be: for the dominion and jurisdiction of *Jehovah*, the God of heaven, seemed exceeding small, his Name being onely knowne in *Jacob*, and his greatnesse and throne amongst the Sonnes of *Israel*; whereas idols, false gods, and false worship; overwhelmed, as it were, the face of the whole earth: The kingdome of God was but a small parcell, whereas devils commanded and swayed all the Nations of the earth besides. The dew of grace lay onely upon the fleece of *Gideon*, but all the earth besides was drie. This was the state of the times when this Prophecy was uttered, nay worse at that time, then ever it had been before; for even that small portion of men which acknowledged the Lord God of heaven, was now almost quite extinguished and devoured, by the vassals of the gods of the nations, *Israel* being carried away captive into a strange land, with much unlikelihood of returne; and the most high God, as it were, mastered by the gods of the nations.

Ye have heard the state of the times wherein this prophecy is commanded: Now let us consider of the event; and this we shall finde partly already accomplished, and partly yet to come; for the first, we have seen with our eyes, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us the wondrous works

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works of the Lord ; we have heard and daily read of the admired Oracles of the Gentiles, of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, of *Jupiter Ammon* in *Egypt*, and many mo, too long to be named: but all of them are long since *perished from the earth, and from under these heavens* ; we have heard of the names of many gods in former times, of great renown in these Islands of the *Gentiles*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Neptune*, *Juno*, *Vesta*, *Venus*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, &c. All *Europe*, *Italy*, *Greece*, and the lesser *Asia*, swarming with their temples and ceremonies ; and yet now are they *perished from the earth, and from under these heavens*. Where is now *Bel* the God of *Babylon*, *Nisroch*, the God of *Assyria*, *Baal* and *Asheroth*, the gods of the *Sydonians*, *Rimmon* the god of the *Aramites* ? Where is now *Dagon* of the *Philistims*, *Milcom* of the *Ammonites*, *Chemosh* of *Moab*, and *Tammuz* of the *Egyptians* ; even these also, whose names we heare so frequent in Scripture, are perished with their very names, *from this earth, and from under these heavens*. And the Nations which once worshipped them, worship now the great God, Creatour of heaven and earth ; once all of them, and yet the most of them, truly and savingly in Christ Jesus, the Saviour and Redeemer of the world.

The beginning of this strange and wonderfull change, was about the birth and incarnation of Christ our Saviour, at which time the gods of the *Gentiles* grew speechlesse in their Oracles: or if at any time they answered, it was to testifie the neer-nesse of that time, wherein they were to be cast out, and the presence of him who should do the same : as it is reported of *Augustus*, who consulting the
Oracle

Oracle of *Apollo*, who should reigne after him, received this answer : Jer. 10. 11

Παῖς ἰβραῖος κέλεται με θεοῖς μακαρίσιν ἀνάσων
 Τόνδε δόμον παρολιπών, καὶ αἶδ' ἡν αὐτὸς ἐκέχαι,
 Λοιπὸν ἄπιθε σιγῶν ἐκ βωμῶν ἡμετέρων.

The meaning whereof is this ; *The Hebrew child which rules the blessed Gods, bids me leave this house, and presently pack to hell, from henceforth depart thou with silence from our Altars* : Whereupon it is said, that *Augustus* reared an Altar in the Capitoll with this Inscription, *The Altar of the first begotten of gods. Porphyrie*, though an enemy of Christians, reports three farewell Oracles of *Apollo*; the first whereof is this :

"Οἱ οἱ μοι, τρίποδες σοναχήσετε, οἷχ' ἐτ' Ἀπόλλων,
 "Οικετ' ἔπει, φλογῶν με βιάζεται οὐράνιον φῶς,
 Ἦν Ζεὺς, ἐξί περὶ καὶ ἔσεται, ὦ μέγ' ἄλ' Ζεὺς,
 "Οἱ οἱ μοι, χρησμῶν ὑπολείπεται ἡριγένεια.

In English thus : *O woe is me, lament ye Tripods, for Apollo is gone, he is gone, he is gone, for the burning light of heaven, that Jupiter which was, is, and shall be ; O mighty Jupiter, he compels me ; ah woe is me, the bright glory of my Oracles is gone from me. And to the Priest which last consulted him, his demand being, which was the true Religion, he answered in this manner :*

Μὴ ὄφελ' ἐς πυμάτων με καὶ ὕστατον αὐτὸς ἐρέειν
 Δύσθη νεοπόλων, καὶ ἰθὺς θεσπέσιον γενετήρ,

"Αμ-

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Ἀμφίτε πλυγέτιο πανομφαίη βασιλῆς,
Καὶ Προῖης ἢ πάντα περίξ βοτρυδὸν εἶχει, &c.

Then,

Ὅμιε καὶ ἐκ ἐθέλοντα δόμων διὰ τῶνδε διώξει,
Ἀυτίκ' ἐρημαῖον δὲ λελείφεται οὗτος ὁ ἀφῆτωρ.

In English thus : *Thou unhappiest of the Priests, oh that thou wouldst not have asked me, being now at my last, of the divine Father, and of the deare begotten of that famous king, nor of the Spirit, which comprehendeth and surroundeth all things; for woe is me, he it is that will I, will I, will expell me from these Temples; and full soon shall this divining seat become a place of desolation. And if at any time he were extremely urged by inchantments and exorcisms, to break off this uncouth silence, he answered,*

Πυθῶν ὁ δ' ἐκ ἐστὶν ἀναζῶσαι λαλὸν ὄμην,
Ἦδη γὰρ δολιχοῖσιν ἀμαυρωθεῖσα χρόνοισιν
Βέβληται κληῖδας ἀμαντότιο σιωπῆς,
Ρέξετε δ' ὡς ἔθι ὅτι θεότορπα σύμματα φοίβω.

Apollo's voice is not to be recovered, it is decayed through length of time, and locked up with the keys of never-divining silence: but do you as ye were wont, such sacrifices as it becometh Phoebus to have.

The ceasing of Oracles, in ancient times so frequent, made the Heathen wonder what the cause should be, for being grown very rare as the coming of Christ drew near, and at the time of his being upon the earth, the chiefest of all, the Oracle of Delphos, grown speechlesse; as *Strabo*, living at that time,

time, witnesleth, before the end of that age, all the Oracles of the world in a manner held their peace. Jer. 12. 11

Plutarch, as ye all know, at that time writ a Tract of the *decay of Oracles*, wherein he labours to finde the cause of their ceasing; and after much search, and many disputes, he concludes the reason, partly to be from the absence of his Demoniacall spirits, who by his Philosophy might either die through length of yeers, or flit from place to place, either exiled by others more strong, or upon some other dislike; and partly to the alteration of the soyle where Oracles were seated, which might not yeeld such exhalations, as in former times they had done. This is the summe of the reasons in that discourse.

But as we embrace this testimony of *Plutarch* for the use and decay of Oracles; so we are better enabled to give a true reason thereof, then he was, or could be; namely, as Meteors and smaller lights vanish, and appear not when the Sun begins to rise; so did these false lights of the Heathen vanish, when the Sun of righteousness, Christ Jesus, arose unto the world. As *Dagon* fell down, when the Arke of God was brought into his Temple; so when the true Arke of God, Christ Jesus, came into the world, all the *Dagons* of the Nations fell downe: The time was come when as our Saviour saith, *John 12. 31. The prince of this world was to be cast out; the night was past, and the day was come*; and therefore such bats and birds of darknesse as these, were not any longer to play such reagues, as in times past they had done.

Now began that war in heaven between *Michael* and

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and the red Dragon, whereof we reade in the *Revelation*, *Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon and his Angels* : that is, Christ our Lord and his undaunted souldiers, fought with the devil and all his Ethnick forces, led by the Roman Emperours ; which war, though it lasted long, and cost the blood and lives of many thousand valiant Martyrs, yet in the daies of *Constantine* , the Dragon received so great an overthrow, that he never could recover it : and though in the daies of *Julian* , he made head again, and kept the field a while, yet was he soone faine to quit it, and leave the victory unto *Michaels* army ; which defeature of his was accompanied with an ominous signe of his utter overthrow, his throne or temple at *Delphos* , with earthquakes, thunder and lightning, being utterly ruined ; for as by the rending of the vaile of the Temple of *Solomon*, was signified the abolishment of legall worship, so by the prodigious destruction of the chieftest temple the devil had in all the world, was, as it were, sealed the irrecoverable overthrow of Ethnicisme, which in the event immediately following, proved true ; for though he retained some strength under *Valens* in the East, by still enjoying his wonted sacrifices, yet in the daies of *Theodosius* he was utterly and finally vanquished, when his last champion *Eugenius*, who threatened to be another *Julian*, and to restore Ethnicisme again, with his whole army was discomfited by the prayer and prowesse of *Theodosius*, about the yeer of our Lord 390. for after this time Ethnicisme was never publickly maintained in the Roman Empire, nor any open attempt made for restoring

restoring it again; whereby it seems the red Dragon was cast down to the earth, and that now was perfected the triumph of *Michaels* victory, when the gods that made not the heaven, and the earth were fully perished, as concerning their Empire, from the earth, and from under these heavens.

As the warre was long; so the victory was not gotten all at once, but by certain degrees, as it were, beginning with *Constantine*, Anno 300. and ending in *Theodosius*, about (as I said) the year 390. And though it be hard to pitch the time of this trophée exactly, yet I doubt not, but it falleth in some part of the time included in the foresaid limits.

Thus then have we seen the truth and power of God in fulfilling this prophecy, for so much as is already past, and may say with *David*, Psal. 48.9. *As we have heard; so have we seen in the citie of the Lord of hosts, in the citie of our God, God will establish it for ever.* But who would have beleevèd this at the time when the words were spoken, when the worshippers of the most high God were at so low an ebbe? Hence therefore must we learn to beleevè the promises of God, be they never so unlikely to humane reason: for he it is that saies, *Esay* 16, *I have spoken, and I will bring it to passe.* It is he that saies, *Jer.* 32. *I am the God of all flesh, and there is nothing too hard for me.* Though *Abraham* be never so old, and *Sara's* wombe dead, yet if the Lord saies it, he shall be father of many Nations. Though *Gideon* be the least of the house of *Manasses*, yet, if the Lord saies it, by him shall *Israel* be delivered from the *Midianites*: Though *David* follow the sheep, yet if God

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promise, he shall be King of *Israel*: Be the famine in *Samaria* never so extreme, that women eat their owne children, yet if God say it, within 24 hours shall corne be so cheap, that a measure of fine flower shall be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gates of *Samaria*. Let us take heed therefore, we say not with him, on whose hand the King leaned, *If God would make windows in heaven, it could not be*; nor with the *Israelites*, when the spies brought them news of the strength of the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, of chariots of iron, and the giant-like sons of *Anak*; let us not say with them, *we shall not enter*; for that Lord who set humane reason against the word and promise of God, never eat of the abundance of *Samaria*; nor the *Jews* which distrusted God, never entred the land of *Canaan*. But let us know, for a conclusion, that *God is faithfull and true, and his promises yea and amen.*

Hitherto we have spoken of the accomplishment of this prophecy, for so much as is already past; now let us see what that is, which we expect as yet to come; for though in regard of former times, when Ethnicisme was so large, and the worshippers of the living God so small a scantling, the extent of the Church be now at this day a goodly and large portion of the world; yet if we consider the numbers of nations yet Pagans, or not Christians, it will seem too scant, as yet, to be the accomplishment of this and other Prophecies, concerning the largesse of Christs kingdome, before the end of the world.

For one hath well observed, that Christianity at this

this day, is not above the sixth part of the knowne world ; whereas the *Mahumetans* have a fifth, and all the rest are *Ethnicks* and *Pagans*. So that if we divide the world into thirty parts, Christianity is but as five in thirty, *Mahumetanisme* as sixe, and *Ethnicisme* as nineteen ; and so is Christianity the least part of all, and plaine *Heathenisme* hath far above the one half of the known world ; and the better part of the other is also *Mahumetans*. And though Christianity hath been embraced in former times, where now it is not, yet is it now spred in those places where in those times it was not. And therefore all laid together, we may account Christianity at this day, as large, I think, as ever it was since the *Apostles* time.

But that this is not that universall kingdome of Christ, that flourishing and glorious estate of the Church, which yet we expect and hope for. My reasons are these :

First, these frequent places of Scripture, which intimate that the Lord should subdue all people, all kingdoms, all nations, and all the ends of the earth unto himself, and that all these should one day worship and acknowledge him: *Psal. 22. 27. All the ends of the world shall remember and turne unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him, for the kingdome is the Lords, and he is governour among the nations.* And *Psal. 47. Clap your hands all ye people, for the Lord is a great King over all the earth, he shall subdue the people under us ; and the nations under our feet.* And againe, *God is king of all the earth, and reigneth over the Heathen. Psal. 66. Make a joy-*

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full

Jer. 10. 11.

full noyse unto God, all ye lands; through the greatnesse of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves unto thee; All the earth shall worship thee, and sing of thee; they shall sing unto thy Name. The whole Psalm 67. which we reade every day, is, as it were, a prophecy and prayer for this great kingdome, *That the way of God may be knowne upon earth, and his saving health among all the nations: Let the people praise thee, O God, let all the people praise thee: Then shall the earth yeeld her increase, &c. God shall blesse us, and all the ends of the earth shall feare him. And Psal. 89. All nations whom thou hast made, shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorifie thy Name, for thou art great, and doest wondrous things; thou art God alone. And Isa. 2. which is a prophetic of Christs kingdome, it is said, That the Idols the Lord shall utterly abolish; or as some reade, the Idols shall utterly passe away: So Esay 54. 5. speaking of the amplitude of the Church of the Gentiles, Thy Redeemer (saith the Prophet) the holy one of Israel, the God of the whole earth shall he be called. Certainly, this constant stile of universality, implies more then this scantling, which yet is small, being but one of the least parts of the whole earth.*

Secondly, the same conclusion may be gathered from 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. compared with Heb. 2. 8. *Christ must reigne (saith S. Paul in the first place quoted) till he hath put all his enemies under his feet; the last enemy which shall be destroyed is death. Hence it follows, that Christ shall subdue all his enemies, whereof the Prince of this world is the chief, before the last rising of the dead; for the subduing of death, that*

that is, the rising of the dead, shall not be afore the rest shall be done; the vanquishing of death being the last act of Christs reigning; which done, he shall yeeld up the Kingdome unto his Father.

In the other place *Heb. 2. 8.* the Apostle speaking of the same thing, alledgeth that of the 8. *Psalme*, *Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet*, (and then adds) *for in that he put all in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him.* But now (marke it) *we see not yet all things put under him.* If any say, that the Apostle speaks here of the Kingdome of Glory in heaven, and not of the kingdome of Grace on earth; I reply first out of the former place, That he speaks of such a subjection, whereof the rising of the dead shall be the last act of all, and which shall be before he yeelds up the kingdome to his Father. But neither of these can be affirmed of the kingdome of glory, but the contrary, *viz.* The rising of the dead is at the beginning, and not at the end of the kingdome of glory; and so is also his yeelding up of his kingdome unto his Father.

Secondly, I reply out of this place, that the Apostle speaks of that kingdome and subjection of the earth, or state of the earth, which was to come. For so he speaks, *ver. 5.* *Unto the Angels he hath not put in subjection, ἢ οἰκουμένῳ ἢ μέλλουσιν, the earth, or state of the earth which shall be, περὶ ἧς λαλῶμεν, of which we speak.* Here he affirms, that *οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα* is that, of whose subjection he meaneth. If then *Οἰκουμένη* signifie onely the earth and the earths inhabitants, and is no where in the Scripture otherwise used, I cannot see how this place can well beare any other

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expo-

Jer. 10. 11.

exposition. First then to confirme this, *Οικουμένη* is the same which the Hebrews call *אֶרֶץ*, for so the Septuagint renders it, whose use of speaking I doubt not but the Apostle follows. But *אֶרֶץ* most constantly signifies the habitable earth, or the earth with the things that live and dwell therein; whence the Septuagint, though they commonly render it *Οικουμένη*, yet sometimes they render it *ἡ γῆ*, the earth; sometimes *ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, that which is under heaven. Therefore with the Septuagint *Οικουμένη* is *ἡ γῆ*, and *ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, The earth, and that which is under the heavens.

If this suffice not, we may yet consider, that *οικουμένη* is a participle of the feminine gender, and therefore understands *ἡ γῆ*, quasi *γῆ ἡ οἰκουμένη*, the earth which is inhabited.

Lastly, wheresoever elsewhere this word is found in the new Testament, it is most expressly used of the earth and inhabitants thereof: in the beginning of this Epistle we read, *Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth & οἰκουμένης; and the heavens are the works of thine hands. Mat. 24. 14. This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached, ὅν ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, over all the earth, and then shall the end come, Luke 2. 3. Then went a decree from Augustus, that all the world should be taxed, πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.* The rest behinde are far more expresse; but I leave them to your own leisure, and will onely adde this one thing, that our English rendring in this place of the Hebrews, *Οικουμένη ἡ μέλλουσα*, the world to come; makes it not onely ambiguous, but seeming to mean the kingdom of glory: But we shall finde that the world

world in that sense is alwaies *αἰὼν ἐρχόμενος*, and *αἰὼν μέλλων*, but no where in all the Bible, *οἰκουμενή ἢ μέλλουσα*. And so I leave this, with submission to the judgement of others.

Jer. 10. 11.

My next reason shall be from that we reade in the *Revelation*, where the Church, by the conquest of *Michael*, set free from the Dragons fury, is said to escape into the wilderness; that is, into a state, though of safety, peace, and security, yet of hardship, misery and scarcity: for it seems to be an allusion to the *Israelites* escaping the tyranny of *Pharaoh*, by going into the wilderness. In this wilderness, or place of hardship, scarcity, misery, and much affliction, the Church must remain (saith *S. John*) *a time, times and half a time*; or, as he elsewhere speaketh *1260. daies*; that is, a year, years and halfe a year; and when this time shall be expired; that is, as learned Divines think; when so many years shall be ended as those daies are, taking the beginning of our reckoning from *Michaels Trophee*; then saith our Apostle, *shall the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reigne for ever and ever*, *Rev. 11. 15*. Whereby it should seem; that the Church is yet in the Wilderness; and that the promised happinesse of the ample and flourishing glory thereof before the end of the world, is yet to come.

My last reason shall be from *Rom. 11.* where *S. Paul* speaking of the future restoring and calling of the *Jews*, saith it shall be when *the fulnesse of the Gentiles is come in*; *I would not* (saith he) *that ye should be ignorant of this mysterie*, &c. *v. 25*. Now because the

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Jews

Jc. 10. 11.

Jews are not yet called, it followeth, that the *fulnesse of the Gentiles* is yet to come; and what should then this fulnesse be, but the fulnesse of the Gospels extent over all the nations of the world; which our Apostle, ver. 15. calls *life from the dead*? for if the casting away of the *Jews*, be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but *life from the dead*? As if the Church of the Gentiles were as yet half dead, if it be compared with that glorious vigour and accession which shall come unto it, when the *Jews* shall be againe received into favour.

In brief, the *fulnesse* here spoken of, is either a fulnesse of grace, a fulnesse of extent, or a fulnesse of time. A fulnesse of time onely it cannot be, because our Apostle saith, this fulnesse *shall enter in*; namely, shall enter into the Church of Christ; but this I see not how it can be spoken of a period of time. As for a fulnesse of grace and spirituall gifts, that was greater when *S. Paul* spake then ever it was since; and therefore if it be meant, it must be yet to come. And for the fulnesse of extent, it was as large, for the number of Nations, in the Apostles times, as it is now in ours, (for as for the *American* Christians, they are onely so in name, being forced onely to seem so by the *Spaniards*;) whatsoever *fulnesse* then the Apostle here meaneth, is yet to come.

I will adde onely one thing more, and so end this point; some think that *S. Paul* in this place hath reference unto that speech of Christ, *Luk. 21. 24.* where he foretels, *That the Jews should fall by the edge of the sword, and be led captives into all nations, and*
Feru-

Jerusalem should be troden down of the *Gentiles*, untill the times of the *Gentiles* should be fulfilled, or accomplished. But it seems to me, that the fulnesse of the *Gentiles*, and the fulfilling or accomplishment of their times should not be the same, howsoever they may be coincident. It should rather seem that our Saviour hath reference as to a thing known, unto the prophecy of *Daniel*, where the times of the *Gentiles*, or the times wherein the *Gentiles* should have dominion, with the misery and subjection of the Jewish Nation, are set forth in the vision of a four-fold image and foure beasts, which are the foure Monarchies, the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Greek* and *Roman*. The first began with the first captivity of the Jewish Nation, and through the times of all the rest, they should be in subjection, or in a worser estate under them. But when their times should be accomplished, then saith *Daniel*, *The Saints of the most high God shall take the kingdome, and possesse the kingdome for ever and ever*, that is, there shall be no more kingdoms after it; but it shall continue as long as the world shall endure. Three of these Monarchies were past when our Saviour spake, and the fourth was well entred. If then by *Saints* there, are meant the *Jews*, which we know are called the *holy people*, in that sense their countrey is called the *holy land*, and their city in the Scripture, the *holy city*, viz. relatively; then is it plain enough what *Daniel's* and our Saviours words import; namely, a glorious revocation and kingdome of the *Jews*, when the time of the fourth Monarchy, which then remained, should be expired and accomplished.

But

Jer. 15. 11

Jer. 10. 11

But if here *By the Saints of the most High*, are in generall meant the Church, yet by coincidence of time, the same will fall out on the *Jews* behalf; because *S. Paul* saith, that at the time when the fulnesse of the Gentiles shall come in, the *Few* shall be again restored.

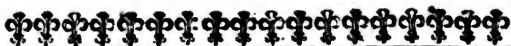
For a conclusion; the last limbe of the fourth Monarchy is in *Daniel*, *The horne with eyes which spake proud things against the most High, which should continue a time, times, and half a time*: that is, a year, yeers, and half a year. In the *Revelation* it is, *the beast with so many heads and horns, full of names of blasphemy, which was to continue forty two moneths*; the same period with the former, which was expressed by times and yeers; and the same time with 1260. daies of the churches remaining in the wildernesse.

When these times, whatsoever they be, shall be ended, then is the period of the times of the *Gentiles*, and of the *Jews* misery, whereto our Saviour seems to refer in the Gospel. Then by *S. Paul*, shall the fulness of the Gentiles enter in: Then, saith *S. Fohn*, shall the kingdomes of the earth be the Lords, and his Christs: Then saith *Daniel* in the former place, ch. 7. shall the kingdome, and dominion, and the greatnesse of the kingdome under the whole heaven, be given to the people of the Saints of the most High, whose kingdome is an everlasting kingdome, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

The use we are to make upon this long discourse, is Hope and comfortable Expectation; *Experience*, saith *S. Paul*, *Rom. 5. 4. engendereth hope*: Let therefore our experience of Gods power and truth in that which

which is past, be as a pledge and pawne unto us of the future : We have seen a great part of this *Doom* of false gods fulfilled already, what though we see not the means of the full accomplishment ? If thou shalt say in thy heart, saith Moses, Deut. 7. 17. these nations are more then I, how can I dispossesse them ? Thou shalt not be afraid of them ; but shalt remember what the Lord thy God did unto Pharaoh, and unto all Egypt : So if any of us shall say, how can this be : let us remember what the Lord hath done already, in subduing so great a part of the world unto himself, which once sat in darknesse, and in the shadow of death.

MAT.



MAT. 11. verſ. 28, 29.

*Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heaue laden,
and I will give you reſt.*

*Take my yoke upon you, and learne of me, for I am
meeke and lowly in heart : and ye ſhall finde reſt
unto your ſouls.*



Shall not need trouble you with prefacing of the coherence : The words are an intire ſenſe of themſelves, without dependance of what went before. For the matter, they are ſuch, as I might call them, an epitome or brief ſumme of the whole Goſpel, containing in few words the compleat method of ſalvation, and as in a ſmall map, a full view of the way to the gates of eternall life ; whither he is moſt unworthy to come, who will not learne ſo ſmall a catechiſme as this. They are propounded unto us by way of an Invitation, conſiſting of three parts : 1. The Thing. 2. The Perſons. 3. The Benefit. The Thing invited to, which is double, to wit, *Chriſt and his yoke. Come unto me,* ſaith he, *and take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meeke and lowly.* 2. The perſons invited, thoſe *that labour, and are heaue laden : Come all ye that labour, and are heaue laden.* 3. The Benefit to thoſe who embrace the invitement, *reſt and eaſe ;* which you ſhall finde in every

every corner of this invitation. *I will give you rest* : or, *I will ease you* : Again, *ye shall finde rest unto your souls* : and in conclusion, *My yoke is easie, and my burden is light*. A benefit so transcendent, as might allude any care, that is not wholly stopped up with spirituall deafnesse, to listen after the means whereby it is attained.

Let us therefore consider these three points in order; and first, that which must first be known and learned. The quality of the persons invited, those that labour, and are heavie laden; which before I tell you what they mean, I must first let you know how to construe them, viz. by the figure called *Hendiadis*, understanding the conjunction, *and*, causally; and so contriving the two things named into one, in this manner; *labour and heavy laden*, into *labouring of being heavie laden*. As if it had been said, *Come unto me all ye that labour of, or by being heavie laden*; all you that are toyled with, and weary of your heavie burden, *come unto me, and I will ease you*.

For after this manner are many things in Scripture, which are uttered conjunction-wise to be understood; *I will multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception*, saith God unto the woman, *Gen. 3.* that is, I will multiply thy sorrows of conception. You shall finde often in Scripture, *Do judgement and righteousness*; that is, do judgement according to righteousness; do such judgement as proceeds from justice and righteousness. *Psal. 116. I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voyce and my supplication*, that is, the voice of my supplication. *Jer. 29. 11. The*
Lord

Mat. 11.
28, 29.

Mat. 11.
28, 29.

Lord promiseth his people to *give them an end and expectation*; that is, the end of their expectation, or the end they look for. In this Gospel, saith S. *John Baptist*, chap. 3. ver. 11. *He that cometh after me, shall baptize you with the holy Ghost, and with fire*; that is, with the fire of the holy Ghost. *Pateris libamus & auro* (saith the Poet,) that is, *Libamus pateris ex auro: Chalybem franosque momordit*, i. *franos ex chalybe*, or *chalybeos franos*. So in my Text, *weary and heavie laden*, is weary of being heavy laden; such as labour, such as are toyled and tired out of the weight of their loading. And thus are the words to be construed.

Now to the meaning of them. Those that labour of being heavie laden, are such as grieve and groan under the burden of their sins. According to the Law, *none should appeare before the Lord empty*; what offering, what sacrifice then must we bring when we come in to Christ, but that which David (who well knew) tells us *Psal. 51. The sacrifice of God, saith he, is a troubled spirit: A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise*. Thus must they come furnished, whom Christ inviteth. For this is that which S. Paul calls, *2 Cor. 7. a sorrow after God, or a godly sorrow, which, saith he, worketh repentance to salvation, not to be repented of*. For understanding therefore of this metaphor in my Text, we must know, that sin is compared in Scripture unto a burden, wherewith every sinner is loaden, yea, overcharged; a burden intolerable. So *Psal. 38. v. 4. &c. Mine iniquities, saith David, are gone over mine head, as a heavie burden; they are too heavie for me. Ver. 6.*

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I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly. Ver. 8. *I am feeble, and sore broken; I have roared because of the disquietnesse of my heart.* S. Paul followeth the like manner of speech, when he tels us, *2 Tim. 3. 6.* of *silly women laden with sinnes, and led away with divers lusts.* This loading and pressure of sin, is in respect of a twofold weight which oppresseth the soule, the one of punishment, the other of loathsomnesse. For the weight of punishment; it is the ordinary stile of the Prophets, to tearm Gods judgements for sin, by the name of *burdens.* *Jehu* calls his execution upon *Jehoram*, the *burden which the Lord laid upon his father Ahab*, *2 Kin. 9. 25.* So S. Paul saith, *Gal. 6. 5.* *That every one shall bear his own burden.* For the other, the loathsomnesse of sin, that also weighs heave. *Ah sinfull nation*, saith the Prophet *Esay*, *a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, from the sole of the foot, even unto the head, there is no soundnesse in it, but wounds; and bruises, and putrifying sores.* This also is a part of *Dauids* burden, *Psal. 38. 65.* *My wounds stink and are corrupt, because of my foolishnesse. I am troubled (or wearied) I am bowed down greatly.*

Is sin indeed so heave a thing? how then do we make it so light a matter? *Nullum onus* (saith *Ambrorse Ep. 18.*) *gravius est quam sarcina peccatorum & pondus flagitiorum.* Is this true? how then comes it to passe we feel it not? Is sin so heave a thing indeed? yes undoubtedly, the weight of sinne is as great as he himself is great who is offended. If every thing that presseth down be heave, how heave is that which presseth down to hell? that is, unto that depth of woe, whose bottome can never be fathomed?

*Mat. 11.
28, 29.*

Mat. II.
28, 29.

thomed? How comes it then to passe we feele it not: our case is so much the more fearfull and dangerous. For, saith *Chrysostome*, Δια τὸ το μέγα ἔστι καὶ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἑναι δοκεῖ, *The evil is so much the greater, by how much it seems to be the lesser.* For Physicians all agree, that those are most dangerously sick, who have no sense and feeling of their sicknesse; whereas on the contrary, to be sensible of pain, is a signe the sicknesse is not deadly. Happy therefore are those who can adde the other word to this, being not onely φορτισμένοι, *laden*, but κατωπῶντες, *labouring under* the weight of their burden. These are those whom Christ calleth; and these are those whose condition we are now to consider, that we may know it, and whether our selves be any of that number.

That a man therefore may truly be said to labour and be weary of his burden, two things are requisite: First, that he feel and be sensible of the weight thereof. Secondly, that he desire to be rid thereof. Now the weight of sin, as I told you, is twofold: First, the weight of punishment. And secondly, the load of loathsomnesse. The first and soonest felt, is that of punishment; which as it is the grossest weight, so may it be felt, while the sense of the soule is yet but grosse and dull: but to feel the other, that is, to loath our sinne, requires a quicker and more tender sense; which is not easily attained to, unlesse the soule be first well rubbed and galled with the weight of punishment. The entry therefore, and as it were, the porch of penitence, are those terrours and pangs of the soule, affrighted with the apprehension of the
wrath

wrath of God for sin, and of the danger we are in therefore: when the piercing sting of an accusing conscience upbraids us, and tells us we are in a state to be damned eternally: That if I should die this day, this night, this houre, I must go to the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth, there to yell and howle with devils in pains unspeakable, and be tormented for ever and ever. When our soule is stricken with horror, to think how long we have lived in this danger, and how little we thought thereof; nay, how securely we encreased our score, as though we should never have come to a reckoning for the same; how often God might have taken me away in the midst of my sins, and where had I been then? yea, what shall become of me, if he should do it now? O how am I afraid of this moment, who feared nothing so many yeers! These are those arrows of the Almighty, which must go thorow our souls at the beginning of our repentance: That we may take up the words of *David*, Psal. 38. 1. *O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure. v. 2. For thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand presseth me sore. Ver. 3. There is no soundnesse in my flesh because of thine anger; neither is there any rest in my bones because of my sin.*

This is a good beginning; but is no more then a beginning; for yet we labour not enough; yet we are not weary enough for Christ to call unto him. This is but a prick of a needle, making way for a thread. We must go further, else this will do us no good. For thus far, as to be sensible and afflicted with the punishment due for sin, to be terrified with

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*Mat. 11.
28, 29.*

Mat. 11.
28, 29.

the weight of the wrath of God, which lies upon us for the same; thus far he may come who shall be damned. For it is common to the desperate reprobate, as well as to the children of God; to *Judas*, who hanged himself; to *Cain*, whom God drave out from his presence; for he could say and confesse to God himself, *My punishment is greater then I can beare*, Gen. 4. 13. Let us therefore see what we are further to adde unto it.

And that is a sense and feeling of the foulnesse, loathsomnesse, and odiousnesse of sin. If we feel not our selves affected with this weight, the former groaning will be accounted no better then hypocrisie and slavish fear; for this is the soule and the life of a godly sorrow indeed; without which, the other is but a carkase, if it be alone. But if by rubbing and galling our hearts, it makes them at length so tender, as to be sensible, not only of the punishment, but to loath sin it self, as a foule and ugly thing; then indeed it begins to live and give some proof, it will be sincere. For as a surfeit of meats, how daintie and delicate soever, will afterward make them loathsome: so if we be indeed surcharged with the burden of our sins, the appetite of the soul will begin to loath them, though they have been never so full of delight; yea, it will make us loath our selves, and cry out in a mournfull manner with *S. Paul*, Rom. 7. *O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?* Even as a man who is covered over with noysome boyles and sores, is not affected onely with the bodily pain caused by them, but even abhors the sight and smell of that which causeth

*Mat. xi.
28, 29.*

causeth it, as filthy and ugly : So must it be in this leprosie of sin. And indeed, were our eyes once open to see it, sin is the most ugly, beastly, filthy, and noysome thing in the world : For being wholly opposite to God, the most glorious beauty, and most delectable good, it is contrary to whatsoever is any way seemly, comely, gracefull, and beautifull ; for all these carry in them some image and resemblance of him ; but sin, none at all. Nay, it is a distastfull and loathsome thing to the reasonable nature of man, as appears by the continuall upbraiding and griping of the conscience, which can never downe with it. In meats, if any go against our stomach, we abhor and loath them : how much more loathsome is that which the conscience cannot digest, the stomach and taster of our souls ? O how nice and dainty we are, that no loathsome and unpleasant meat should offend (so much as by the sight thereof) our fleshly appetites, which is common to us with beasts ! but our souls, our nobler part, whose safety so much concerns us, we cram and choak with the loathsom filthinesse of sin, and perceive it not. But as those who cannot endure a cat or a mouse, or the like, by Antipathie of nature, when any such thing comes within their sight, or neer their person, presently they start, and shew some extremity of passion or other ; and if they cannot fly it, it casts their body into a cold sweat : so must we labour under the sight of our sins, that we may be of those whom Christ here calleth for. O Lord, supply our hearts with thy quickning grace, that they may be so tender as to feel this part of their burden, as well as the other !

[I 2]

Thus

Mat. 11.
28, 29.

Thus have we heard the first requisite of such as may be truly said to labour, and be weary of their burden; namely, to feel and be sensible of a double weight thereof. Now follows the next and last requisite, a desire to be rid thereof.

He that truly and unfeignedly labours under the burden of his sin, he that is indeed weary thereof, will desire to be rid of it; for sorrow is so much against the good liking of nature, that he that is pressed with the burden thereof, will earnestly desire to be eased; will endeavour to shake off his burden, and remove that which procures his sorrow. He therefore that is not so far toiled with the pressure of his sins, as to have a purpose to forsake and leave them, is no true penitent, none of those who are yet weary enough to go unto Christ for ease.

And lest we might deceive our selves, and think we have a purpose to leave our sins, when we have not; let us examine our selves by these three rules following: 1. That this purpose must be generall, without reservation of any darling sin; for he that retains any sin, is not yet weary enough of his burden: He that looks for a forgiveness of all his sins, must purpose to forsake them all: He must not with *Herod* in the Gospel, have a reservation of *Herodias*, his brother *Philip's* wife; God will not be served by halves, he will have our whole hearts or none.

2. He that devises not how to cast off the burden of his sin, though it pains him, but how to carry it more handsomely and conveniently, by qualifications, distinctions, and the like: he is perhaps heavily laden, for he feels his shoulders pinched, but he is not wearied

wearie of carrying; but thinks to ease himself, as he in the fable did his horse of the plough, who sitting still upon his horse back, carried the plough on his owne neck. So was the horse eased by a distinction, for now his master carried the plough, and not he.

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3. He that hath indeed a purpose to cast off the burden of his sin, and to forsake it, is willing to make amends where he hath wronged; as we see by the example of *Zacheus* in the Gospel. For he that cannot wish from the bottome of his heart, that what he hath done were undone; and if it were to do again, he would never do it, is no true penitent, nor heartily sorry for his sin. But how can he say thus, who hath ill gotten goods, and will not restore them; who hath power in his hands yet, in some sort, to undo his sin, as far as the injury concerneth man, and yet will not do it?

But you will say, How should a man come to be thus affected? how should he come to be troubled with remorse for sin? and what means is to be used? I answer, by a serious and often meditation upon the Law of God, which is a glasse wherein to behold the deformity of sinne, and depth of our misery. Dost thou in deed and good earnest beleeve, that God Almighty hath given this law to men? Dost thou beleeve thou hast transgressed and broken every part thereof? Dost thou beleeve (tell me truly) that all those who have done so, are under the wrath of God, and in the state of damnation, to be tormented with the devil and his angels for ever? Dost thou, or canst thou beleeve all this, and thy heart not

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yeeld and bleed to think how wofull and fearfull a condition thou art in? If it doth not, I say, thou dost not yet fully and in earnest beleeve any of these things. Thou mayest perhaps say so, and think so too, but thou deceivest thine own heart: The devil deludes thee. I say again, thou beleevest not; thy perswasion is too slight: for every unrepentant sinner, that knows and hears the law of God without sorrow and contrition of heart, is a peece of an Infidell; and it is unbelief, and nothing but unbelief, ^{wh} makes the heart so unmoveable and unrelenting.

If a Proclamation came from an earthly Monarch, that whosoever had at any time committed such and such misdemeanours, should have his estate confiscated, or suffer some grievous and exquisite torments, as a traitor unto his Prince: If I should see a man deeply liable unto all this, who could heare of such a Proclamation securely, without trouble and astonishment, that could sleep quietly, and be no whit dejected or cast down therewith; might I not justly think, either he beleevved himselfe not guilty of any of the crimes there mentioned, or took it for a counterfeit, or onely some scarecrow, never meant to be put in execution? I know your selves would think so. How then is it possible, that a man should firmly and seriously give credence to the law of God, and the threats contained therein, and yet his heart never smite him, his soul be never touched with remorse? No, without doubt, this legall faith (for so I call the beleeft I speak of) is yet a weak one, a superficiall and unsetled perswasion (perhaps) but no grounded or firm impression. Wouldest thou

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amend it, wouldest thou drive it deeper? Rub thy heart continually with a fixt and frequent meditation of the sincerity of Gods law, of the number and greatnesse of thy transgressions, of the dreadfulness of wrath and vengeance due for the same. Never cease doing this, untill thy heart shall yeeld, and thy bowels melt within thee. One drop of water weareth not a stone, but continuall dropping will do it. Those who let blood, will rub the vein often to make it swell; so must thou rub thy heart often, to make it bleed. A hard skin, with often grinding and fretting, will at length grow thin and tender.

I come now to the second thing propounded in this Invitation, the thing invited to; which is double, *coming unto Christ, and taking his yoke upon us.* I begin with the first. This coming unto Christ is the approaching to him by faith; which is manifested by those places of Scripture, where *coming* and *believing* are interchangeably used as one and the same thing. *He that cometh to God* (saith S. Paul, Heb. 11. 6.) *must beleeve that God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that seek him.* John 6. 35. *I am* (saith our Saviour) *the bread of life. He that cometh to me, shall never hunger: He that beleeveth on me, shall never thirst.* Here *coming* is expounded by *believing*, ver. 37. *All that the Father giveth me, shall come unto me, and he that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.* In the first of John, v. 12. it is called a *receiving of Christ.* But as many as received him, to them gave he power (or priviledge) to become the Sons of God, even to them that beleeved on his Name.

Here therefore observe, that a saving faith, a faith

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which makes Christ our own, and hath promise of ease by him. In a word, that faith which gives us an interest in Christ Jesus, is more then a bare assent or perswasion. The Gospel is true, which saies, that Christ is the Son of God, and the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind: It is a coming beleef, a coming faith; that is, an assent enclining the soule to Christ, to be made partaker of the benefits through him. Not a bare speculative assent, which remains in the brain, and proceeds no farther; but such an assent as rests not there; but worketh a motion in the will, to seek and embrace that which is beleevd. Such an assent, as not onely beleeves the promises made in Christ, but goes unto him, relies upon him, clings unto him for them. *Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavie laden, and I will ease you.*

To beleve the Gospel is true, that Christ Jesus is the onely means of salvation ordained by God, I grant it to be a faith, though it go no farther: but it is an insufficient faith, an imperfect and impotent faith, which is usually called *historicall faith*; which I make no question but you all have; but if you stay here, the devil beleeves as much as you do. But a saving faith, though it begins with this, yet it staies not there. It stands not onely gazing upon Christ; but is effectually and powerfull upon the soule, to make it apply and betake it self unto him. This height of faith the devils have not, nor can have: They can beleve as well as we, that Christ is a Saviour, but never so far, or so much as to have any hope, affiance, or confidence in him. For if a King should proclaim a generall pardon to a number of
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known rebels, and vow execution without mercy upon some principall offenders, who had cunningly and maliciously seduced the rest; both of them might equally beleeve the Proclamation to be true; yet the one would be encouraged to relie upon the Kings clemency, and to sue out his pardon, but the other would be utterly disheartned, as being incapable: such altogether is the case of men and wicked Angels in the Proclamation of the Gospel: Men hearing Christ took the womans Seed, are encouraged with hope of pardon; the devils, knowing he in no wise took the nature of Angels, the better they beleeve his incarnation, the lesse are their hopes of their own redemption.

Come we therefore to application: *He that cometh unto God* (saith S. Paul) *must beleeve that God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that seek him*: So say I, he that cometh unto Christ, must beleeve that he is, and that he is the Easer of them that seeke unto him. He that beleeves this sufficiently, cannot but go unto Christ. You therefore that labour, and are heaveie laden with your sins; do you beleeve that Christ is, and that he is the Easer of them, that being weary of their sinnes, seek unto him? How can your soul then but flie unto him with trust and confidence in him? Yea, but will some men say, I beleeve that Christ is, and that he is the Easer of them that seek him, yet for all this, I can put no trust and confidence in him: Yea, but doest thou beleeve it so well, as to finde thy soul on wing toward him, to seek and sue for pardon? If thou findest this, thou hast some trust and confidence in him more or lesse.

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For didst thou quite despaire of ease from him, thy heart could never seek to him; for where a man utterly despaires to obtain, he will not so much as stir a foot to make a suit.

The motion or flight of the soul, is desire. He that out of a true sense and feeling of his sin (for no other can do it in good earnest) desires Christ, he goes unto him. And Christ thou seeest requires no more, but that all those who are *weary and heavie laden* should thus *come unto him*, and *he will ease them*. And this is the first degree of a faith which is justifying, and gives interest in Christ Jesus: For this faith is not barely historicall, and in speculation, but a faith in motion, and able to walk and go unto Christ Jesus, whom it beleeveeth; which, if cherished, will in time gather such further strength, as will fill the soul with a full and stedfast confidence.

But if thou sayest that thou beleevest that Christ is, and that he is the Easer and Saviour of those which seek him, and yet thy soule is not on wing, nor any motion in thy heart advancing to him: I say then, either thy sorrow for thy sin is not true, and therefore thou yet seekest no need of him; or thy belief is deficient. Whatsoever thou sayest and thinkest of thy self, thou beleevest not yet thoroughly and indeed, that Christ Jesus is a Redeemer and Saviour of those that come unto him. For, as I told you before, that he beleeved not the Law thoroughly and indeed, that could heare it without remorse of conscience, and contrition of soul: So he beleeves not the Gospel thoroughly and firmly, who being laden and grieved for his sins, yet is not able to flie and

and besake himself unto Christ for mercy. For if you saw a man condemned to die, and in great affliction for the same, who hearing of a pardon proclaimed for all in his case, who would demand it, should neverthelesse sit still, and never go about to seek it; who would think, but that either he misdoubted the report, or gave but little credence to the word of the King? Such is the case here: There is certainly some defect in beleiving: And this must be cured after the same manner, as that in beleiving the Law; namely, by a sober and frequent meditation, reading, hearing, and thinking of that great mysterie revealed of redemption in Jesus Christ, and of the gracious promises of the Gospel in and through him. This is faiths whetstone, which if it be blunt, will make it keen. This is the onely means to establish thy belief, if it be deficient or unsettled; if there be any metall in it, this will give it an edge; if there be any sparkles, this will blow them into a flame.

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Now follows the benefir, *Ease and Rest* to thy soul, *I will ease you, or give you rest*. That is, I will free you of your burden, I will ease you of your sin, I will acquit you. And this is that we call justification of a sinner, which is an absolution or remission of sins, by the onely merit and satisfaction of Christ, accepted for us, and imputed to us. An acquitting or cancelling of all bonds and obligations of transgression for Christs sake, through the onely merit of his death, passion, and shedding of his blood. For he that hath right to Christ, hath right in Christ to be partaker of his righteousness, and of whatsoever

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ever satisfaction he hath undergone for the finnes of mankinde, whereby he is justified ; that is, acquit before God of the guilt of sin, and of the punishment according to the Law due for the same. For God (saith S. Paul, 2 Cor. 5. ult.) *made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. For as by one mans disobedience many were made sinners : so by the obedience of one, many are made righteous.*

• This is the *Ease*, this is the *Rest* here mentioned, the unlading and unburdening of a sinner, where Christ dischargeth him of his loading, and beareth it upon his own back : *For he (saith Esay 53.) hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows, he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed -- The Lord laid upon him the iniquity of us all.* Thus he eased Peter, when his heart was ready to break for *denying him* : Thus he eased Mary Magdalen, a woman laden with sins, when she *bathed his feet with tears*, Luk. 7. 48. Thus he refreshed trembling Saul, the persecutor, Act. 9. 6. And still he casteth the eyes of his mercy upon every one that is *poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at his word*, Isa. 66. 2.

See therefore here to whom alone a troubled soul is to have recourse for ease. Neither to Angels nor Archangels, (for those who do so *hold not the head*, Col. 2. 19.) Neither to Saints or Martyrs, to Peter or Paul, no not to the blessed Virgin her self : *For Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not*, Isa. 63. 16. and, *Cursed is he that trusteth in man, and maketh*

maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord, Jer. 17. 5. Nor to the Law given by Moses, For the Law works not ease, but wrath, Rom. 4. 15. Nor will our merits and good works, pilgrimages, fastings, or almsdeeds, purchase this ease. For although we could do all we ought to do, yet must we say, we are unprofitable servants, and that we have done but that which was our duty to do, Luk. 17. 10. It is Christ Jesus, and onely Christ Jesus, who can give rest to a troubled soul, That Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.

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These three points thus considered, the Persons, the Invitation, and the Benefit, I must call you to the second point again, there being one part thereof not yet spoken of: For I told you the thing here invited unto was double, *Christ himself, and his yoke.* The first, concerning Christ himself, I have spoken of in those words, *Come unto me.* Now it remains to speak of the second, *Take my yoke upon you.* Those who come unto Christ, must also take his yoke upon them. But what is this yoke? even the yoke of obedience; which should have been ours, but Christ for our sakes took it upon him, and made it his. Yet not that we should draw our necks out of the collar, but still do our endeavours by *denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope to come.* As therefore in coming unto Christ; you had faith in the ease by him, *Acquitting, or Justification:* so in the *taking his yoke,* ye have *Sanctification, or holiness of life.* All which are so linked together, that neither must they, nor can they be put asunder.

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asunder. No man comes to Christ by faith, but shall be eased; but no man can ever truly and seriously come unto him, to be eased by him, but must take his yoke upon him: No man puts on Christ, to be justified, but takes on his yoke also to be sanctified. That which God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder.

True it is, and nothing more true, that no works of ours in this life can abide the touch-stone of Gods Law, and therefore not able to justify us in the presence of God, but to condemn us. But it is true also, that we are therefore justified through faith in the blood and righteousness of Christ, that in him we might do works pleasing and acceptable to Almighty God, which out of him we could not do. For as the blood and sufferings of Jesus Christ, imputed to us through faith, cleanseth and acquitteth us of all sins, whereof we stood guilty afore we beleaved; so the imputation of his righteousness when we believe, makes our works (though of themselves far short of what they should be, yet) to be acceptable and just in the eyes of the Almighty; Christ supplying out of his Riches, our poverty, and by communication of his obedience, continually perfecting ours where we faile; that so we might receive the reward of the righteous, of him that shall reward every man according to his works. Being therefore in Christ, we are so much the more bound to frame our lives in holy obedience unto Gods Commandments; in that before we were justified we could not, but now henceforth we are enabled to do that, which for Christs sake will be acceptable and

and pleasing to Almighty God our Father.

This is that which *S. Peter* tells us, *1 Epist. 2. 24.* That Christ his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness. So *Tit. 2. 11.* The grace of God (saith he) that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men; (wherefore) teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Ver. 14.* Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Here you may see, that Christ is therefore given us to be a propitiation for our sins, and to justifie us, that in him we might walk before God in newnesse of life; so to obtain a crown of righteousness in the world to come.

But if this be not enough to perswade us to take on this yoke of Christ, yet I hope this consideration will do it; when I shall shew you, that that faith can never be true, which is not attended with these fruits. Not is there any other meane to assure us we are truly come to Christ, and ingrafted in him, but this. If we have taken up this yoke of Christ, we may know then, we have put on him. If we have never put our necks to his yoke, we never put on him. It is *S. Johns* expresse assertion, *1 Ep. 1. 6.* If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darknesse, we lie, and do not the truth. *Ch. 2. 3.* Hereby we know that we know him, (viz. to be our Advocate with his Father, and the propitiation for our sinnes) if we keep his commandments.

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The reason is plain, because the one follows the other, as the heat doth the fire, or the light the Sun. Which I thus demonstrate, both on Christs part and ours: On ours thus; He that sincerely sueth, and seriously relies upon another for a favour which neerly concerneth him, will by all means endeavour to avoid whatsoever he knows may distaste his Patron, and do his best to approve himself in whatsoever he can learn is most pleasing unto him. If you should see a man having a suit to some great Courtier, for a pardon of his life, and yet shewed no care of doing in his presence what he knew would deeply offend him, and wilfully neglecting that he knew would give him the best content; would you think such a man in earnest, and sufficiently perplexed with feare of death, relying upon that man to save it? I know you would not. If therefore, out of a true affrightment and sense of the wrath of God for sin, with a serious and sincere faith, thou suest unto, and relieest upon Christ for mercy and redemption, as the *only name under heaven, whereby thou canst be saved*; How canst thou but love him with all the powers of thy soul, and therefore do thy best to please him, upon whom thou dependest for so great and unvaluable a benefit? If thou doest not, surely thou hast not yet weighed thy misery sufficiently, thy faith is insufficient and counterfeit, it never yet came home to Christ, that he might ease thee.

The same appears on Christs part: for unto whomsoever Christ is given for justification, through the imputation of his merits and righteousness, in him God *createth a new heart, and reneweth*

reneweth a right spirit (as the Psalmist speaketh, *Psal.* 50.10.) that is, by virtue of this union he conferreth upon him the grace of his Spirit, for the abolishing of the body of sin, and enabling the soule in some measure against the assaults thereof, to abandon at least the more eminent, notorious, enormous, and mortall sins, though sins of ordinary infirmity, shall not be quite subdued in this life. If therefore I see a man run still without restraint into grosse and open sins, and walk not blamelesse in the eyes of men, I conclude, he hath not this spirit of grace within him, and therefore was never ingrafted into Christ by a true and lively faith. Wheresoever therefore is a true faith, and unfeigned, 1 Tim. 1. 5. there follows a new life. He that cometh to Christ sincerely, takes his yoke upon him too. Labour therefore, as S. James saith, to shew your faith by your works; for not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, but he that doth the will of my Father (saith Christ) shall inherit the kingdome of heaven.

The words which follow, are a continuing of the former exhortation to take upon us the yoke of Christ: First, in generall, that we follow his example, *learn of me*. Then in particular, wherein we should follow him, in *meeknesse and lowlinesse*, for I am (saith he) *meek and lowly in heart*. Then the profit we shall reap thereby; *do this, and ye shall finde rest unto your souls*.

For the first, *learn of me*. Observe that Christ is given unto us *not onely for a sacrifice for sin, but for an example of life*. They are the words of one of our Collects. For he is our Lord and King, and subjects

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we know will naturally conform and fashion themselves unto the manners of their Princes; *Regis ad exemplum totius componitur orbis*: And those which do so, are accounted the most devoted to them, and are the best accepted of them. If Christ then be our Lord and King, we must acknowledge him to be such, by conforming to his example, and endeavouring to follow his steps. Besides, since he took this yoke of obedience upon him out of love to us, how can we choose but offer our necks thereto our selves, out of duty to him? If he hath done so much to make our yoke easie, which before was so unsupportable, should we now think much to put it on? Nay, it is the very character of Gods chosen ones, to carry in them a conformity and resemblance of Christ. *For whom* (saith S. Paul, Rom. 8. 29.) *he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first borne among many brethren.*

And this duty of conforming unto Christ, consists not onely in doing as he did, but suffering also as he hath done, 1 Pet. 2. 20. *If when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.* Ver. 21. *For even hitherto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example; that we should follow his steps.* Vid. 1 Jo. 3. 16. And this conformity and sampling (as I may say) of Christ, extends not onely to those acts of his, which he did as man, where the imitation is plain and direct, but in a certain sort, to those supereminent ones, which exceed the nature of a meer man, and were done by the concurrence and power of his Godhead; which
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because otherwise unimitable, we must expresse by way of a mysticall resemblance. Thus are we to imitate his expiatory death and buriall, by our dying unto sin: *Shall we continue in sin*, saith S. Paul, Rom. 6.1.) *that grace may abound?* v.2. *God forbid.* How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? v.3. *Know ye not, that so many of us as are baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death?* To the same purpose, 1 Ep Peter, ch.4. *Forasmuch*, saith he, *as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm your selves likewise with the same minde*; for he that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sin, &c. So likewise in suffering one for another, Eph. 5. 1. *Be ye followers of Christ, as deer children*, v.2. *And walk in love, as Christ hath also loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God.* In the like manner must we imitate his Resurrection and Ascension. S. Paul in Rom.6. *Therefore* (saith he) *we are buried with him into his death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newnesse of life.* Accordingly, Col.3.1, *If then ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.* All which you see are grounded upon this one principle, *Learn of me.* Some Physiognomers conceit the head of a man to be the modell of the whole body; and where there is any spot, wart, or like mark about the face, or other part of the head, that there is another answerable to it in some futable part of the body, and upon this ground they will adventure to discover some hidden mark in the unseen parts of the body. But whatsoever it be in the naturall body,

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I am sure it is true in the mysticall body of Christ, that every character in the Head, Christ, must have something answerable to it in his Body, the Church.

Thus much for the generall, We must learne of Christ. But what is that here in my Text, which Christ would have us learn of him: It followeth, *I am meek and lowly in heart.* And this we must learne of him; this is that yoke of his, he would have us weare, that *we might finde rest unto our souls.* For under these two words our Saviour comprehends the whole habit of obedience, they being two such dispositions of the minde, as makes it tractable and pliable to put on, and weare the yoke he speaks of. As if he had said, I am wholly qualified to obedience, I am fitted for this yoke, learn of me to put it on, for I am meek and lowly. Now though lowlinesse and meeknesse are of very neer affinity, and such, as both of them do dispose a man for the duties of both Tables of Gods Commandments, yet hath lowlinesse (as I take it) a prerogative in our devotion to Godward; and meeknesse is more proper for the duties we owe to our neighbours. I will therefore construe them here, as others have done before me, as dividing the whole decalogue between them; *lowlinesse*, as a mother, including the duties of the first; and *meeknesse*, those of the second Table. Which are the two parts of that yoke which Christ wore for us, and which every one that cometh to him, must learn to put on.

In the handling whereof, I will rather chuse to follow the order of the Decalogue, and first begin with

with Lowlinesse, though it be last placed in the words. Lowlinesse therefore, as I said, stands here for the whole duty of the first Table, which is *Cultus Dei*, religious service or devotion towards God; or, as the Scriptures phrase is, *The feare of the Lord*: which as it is founded upon the acknowledgement of the superlative and transcendent Excellency of God in his Sovereignty of Power, Wisdome, and Goodnesse. So the first and mother disposition and affection of the heart to his Worship and Service, is humiliation of the soul, and lowlinesse of minde: for all Excellency is worshipped with humility, reverence, and submission; that is, as we sometimes, and rightly speak, by keeping a distance. And the Sovereigne or Supreme Excellency of God, must be adored with the lowest demission of minde, and with the greatest stoop the soul can make. We finde by experience, that disposition of the eye which fitteth it to behold the visible Sun, makes a man blinde when he looks down upon himself: So here the apprehension of the Excellency of God, ten thousand times brighter then the Sun, must needs darken all overweening worthinesse in our selves. The greater we would apprehend his Power, the more sensible we must be of our own weaknesse. The greater we acknowledge, and adore his goodnesse, the lesse goodnesse we see in our selves. The more we would apprehend his wisdome, the lesse we are to be puffed up with our own knowledge. As in a paire of scales, the higher we would raise the one scale, the lower we pull down the other: so the higher we would raise God in our hearts, the lower we must

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depreſſe our ſelves. *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* And this is that lowlineſſe of heart which Chriſt would have us learn of him, *Who being in the form of God--- made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the forme of a ſervant--- And being found in ſaſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Croſſe,* Phil. 2. 6, 7, 8.

Hence it comes, that the humbleſt nature, and the humbleſt condition, are the fitteſt for devotion; For humble natures, experience ſhews them the moſt religious, whereas thoſe which the world ſo much commendeth for high and brave ſpirits, of all others do buckle the worſt unto devotion. *God ſeeth not as man ſeeth;* It is not the taleſt *Eliab*, but the humbleſt *David*, who is the man after Gods owne heart: He that humbleth himſelf as a little childe, the ſame is the taleſt and goodlieſt ſoul in the kingdom of heaven. The ſtars in the firmament, howſoever they here ſeem ſmall to us, yet are bigger then the earth: ſo he that is deſpicable and ſmall here in the eyes of men, is there a great one in the eyes of God.

As the humbleſt nature, ſo the humbleſt eſtate and condition is beſt fitted for religion; as the poor rather then the rich. Therefore *Agur* deſired of God, not to give him riches, more then food convenient for him, leſt being full, he ſhould deny him, and ſay, *Who is the Lord?* Such likewiſe is the ſtate of adverſity and affliction, being a ſtate of lowlineſſe, and an eſtate wherein our hearts are taken down, and therefore more fit to bring us home to God, then that of pro-

prosperity ; where you know that *David* saies, *Psal.* 94. 12. *Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O Lord.* And *Psalme* 119. 67, 71. *Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I have kept thy word. It is good for me that I have been afflicted.*

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For diseases (say the Physicians) must be cured by contraries : It was pride which caused the disloyalty and rebellion both of Men and Angels against their Creator : whence is that of the Son of *Syrach*, *Ecclus.* 10. 12. *The beginning of pride is when one departeth from God, and his heart is turned away from his Maker.* Ver. 13. *Pride is the beginning of sin, and he that hath it shall poure out abominations.* If pride then be the beginning of our rebellion against God, then must lowliness be the proper disposition of those who fear and worship him. And, *Tanto quisque est vilior Deo, quanto est pretiosior sibi.*

Now from this neer affinity and inseparable dependence between a religious devotion and an humble and lowly minde, it is that the Scripture useth them as equipollent terms, *Prov.* 22. 4. *By humility and the feare of the Lord are riches, honour, and life,* *Prov.* 3. 33. *The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked; but he blesseth the habitation of the just.* Ver. 34. *Surely he scorneth the scorners, but he giveth grace, or sheweth favour, unto the lowly.* Where scorners and the wicked, on the one part, and the lowly and the just on the other, are interchangeably used for one and the same. In like manner speaks the son of *Syrach*, *Ecclus.* 2. 4, 5. *Give to the godly man, and help not a sinner.* Which in the next words he altereth thus, *Do well unto him that is lowly, but give not to the ungodly.* In

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the notion of humility and lowlinesse, *S. Paul* tells the Ephesian Elders at *Miletus*, that he had served the Lord with all humility of minde.

I have dwelt the longer upon this point, to shew that lowlinesse of minde is the proper disposition for devotion, and the mother of a religious feare, because the present occasion, if you examine it, is nothing else but the exercise of what I speak of. For the end of fasting, is to beget lowlinesse and humbleness of minde, that so we might be rightly disposed and affected to approach the Divine Majesty, and tender our supplications unto him: Especially at such times when his dreadfull rod is shaken over us, to bid us down and cry for mercy, lest we perish. Are they not some of the first words we uttered this day? *O come, let us humble our selves, and fall down before the Lord with reverence and fear.* Hence fasting and humbling a mans self, go in Scripture for equipollent tearms. *My clothing was sackcloth* (saith *David*, Psal. 35. 13.) *I humbled my self with fasting.* So *Ahab* humbled himself, and thereby deferred his judgement, *1 King. 21. 29.* *Hezekiah* humbled himself, both he and all the inhabitants of *Jerusalem.* *Manasseh* likewise besought the Lord, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his Fathers, *2 Chro. 33.*

If we take a view of the ceremonies of this Discipline which the Ancients used, and we in some part continue, they imply nothing else but lowliness, either to expresse it, if we be already so affected; or to work and beget it in our hearts, if as yet we have it not. They are reducible to three heads: 1. of Habit, 2. of Gesture, 3. of Diet. For Habit, it was.

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was antiently sackcloth and ashes. By the courtesse of sackcloth they ranked themselves, as it were, amongst the meanest and lowest condition of men. By Ashes, and sometimes Earth upon their heads, they made themselves lower then the lowest of the creatures of God. For the lowest of the Elements is the Earth, then which we use to say that a man cannot fall lower. *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat.* For Gesture, they sate or lay upon the ground, which in the Primitive Church was called *χαμβωία*, a naturall ceremony, both to expresse and ingenerate or increase lowlinesse of minde; and as frequently practised among the Christian Fathers, as it is seldome or never used among us. It were a thing most comely, and undoubtedly most profitable, if either these ceremonies, or some other answerable to them, were again revived. If we were all of us this day attired (not in sackcloth, for perhaps it sutes not with the custome of our Nation) yet in the dolefullest habit of mourners; if we lay all groveling upon the ground, would not such a spectacle, would not the very sight of such an uncouth Assembly much affect us? The mournfull hue of funerall solemnities we know by experience will often make them to weep, who otherwise had no particular cause of sorrow.

But the principall ceremony, and which we retain, is abstinence from meat and drink, from which this whole exercise hath the name of fasting: the end thereof being to bring down our bodies, thereby the better to humble our souls, or to expresse so much: I mean, to expresse our sorrow and dejection, if

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if we be already so affected : *Mores animi sequuntur temperamentum corporis* ; If the body be full and lusty, the minde will be losly and refractary, and most unfit to approach the divine Majesty with reverence and feare. How incompoused is that heart to sue to God for mercy and aversion of his judgements, which hath rebellious, unclean, proud, and lustfull thoughts all the while barking within it, as so many dogs of hell ? But these are all engendered and cherished by full feeding, and cannot be easily quelled unlesse they be starved. When I fed Israel to the full (saith the Lord, *Jer. 5:7, 8.*) then they committed adultery, and assembled by troupes in harlots houses, &c. *Pharao* (saith Moses in his propheticall Song, *Deut. 32. v. 5.*) waxed fat and kicked, and forsook the Lord that made him; and lightly esteemed of the Rock of his salvation.

Wherefore S. Paul was faine to pinch his body, and bring it down with fasting, *I keep under my body* (saith he, *1 Cor. 9. ult.*) *and bring it into subjection*, lest that by any means, when I have preached unto others, I my self should be a castaway. Hilarion, a religious young man, when after much abstinence and course diet he felt his flesh still unruly and rebellious; *Ego (inquit) Aselle, faciam ut non calcitres, nec te hordeo alam, sed paleis, fame & siti te conficiam.* Such is the danger of a pampered body, and such the necessity of keeping it under.

Thus you see what is the chief end we are to aime at in this our solemn abstinence; namely, to begin this lowlinesse in our hearts, this humiliation in our souls, to subdue the high mounting flames of our unruly

unruly desires, by withdrawing the fuell which breeds and nourishes them: which as it is at all times requisite in some measure, whensoever we approach the Majesty of God for mercy and forgiveness: so then especially, and in a more then usuall manner, when God shakes the rod of his judgements over our heads, and bids us down and prostrate both souls and bodies before him, lest his judgements break us in peeces if we bow not. He that attaineth this hath fasted well: he that hath not, may thereby know he hath not done enough, or not as he should do: If the boyling of our lusts be cooled and calmed; if the swelling conceits of worth in our selves be taken down, with a true and feeling apprehension of our vilenesse and wretchednesse by reason of sin, which makes us the most unworthy creatures in the world; if those ramping weeds of contempt and despising of others, be cropped and withered; if after this manner we be so affected, then are we humbled; if not, we are not sufficiently taken down; all our service is hypocrisie; nor will our devotion be accepted of that All-seeing Majesty, who *resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.*

Thus much of lowlinesse, the mother of the duties of the first Table. Now I come to *meeknesse*, which implies our obedience to the second. What meeknesse, or *mansuetudo*, signifies in Ethicks, every one knows, that virtue which tempereth anger; or, as I may so call it, *unangrinesse*. But sometimes whilst we take words in Scripture according to our own, or the Philosophicall notion, we slip into a mistake,

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mistake, as it falls out in this word *meeknesse*, whose notion in the Hebrew, and Scripture use, is as large well-nigh as of virtue it self; so far as it hath respect to the second Table. For it signifies, as I may so speak, yokeablenesse, or a pliability and tractableness to be ordered. A certain tameness of disposition to obedience of laws, for untamed cattell are not fit for yoke; And may be expressed, as I think, by ingenuity, or ingenuous goodnesse; or, as we speak, fair-conditioned; by which we understand a generall disposition to be well ordered in such actions as are exercised in the conversation of men.

Thus it is taken in that of our Saviour, *Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth*, Mat. 5. which appears out of *Psal. 37. 11.* whence it is taken, where the meek and the wicked are opposed as terms of equall extent. For yet a little while (saith David) and the wicked shall not be: but the meek shall inherit the earth. Who seeth not that by *meek* is here meant the opposite party to the wicked? So I understand that, *Psal. 76. 9.* God arose to judgement, to save all the meek of the earth; id est, omnes probos terra: And *Psa. 149. 4.* For the Lord taketh pleasure in his people; he will beautifie the meek with salvation. *Zeph. 2. 3.* Seek the Lord all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgement, seek righteousness, seek meeknesse: It may be, ye shall be hid in the day of the Lords anger. *Amos 2. 6.* For three transgressions and for foure of Israel, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shooes. *Ver. 7.* That pant after the dust of the poore, and turne aside the way of the meek. Here that which in the first is

is expressed *poor and righteous* in the next is changed into *poor and meek*, shewing *meek* and *righteous* to be equipollent tearms. So S. James 1.21. as writing to Hebrews, useth the Hebrew notion; *Wherefore* (saith he) *lay apart all filthinesse, and superfluity of naughtinesse, and receive with meeknesse the ingrafted word, which is able to save your souls. But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers onely.* Again, ch. 3.13. *Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge amongst you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meeknesse of wisdom:* where it is evident, that meeknesse cannot be taken in that restrained sense of Philosophers, for that would be nonsense.

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Yet I deny not, but *meeknesse* in Scripture also is taken for a speciall vertue: And for the excellency of that vertue amongst men, were all the rest denominate thereof; for it is an usuall Trope of the Scripture, to make that which is taken for the most eminent and notable in any kinde, to bear the name of the whole kinde; as a fore-man speaks for the whole Jury, and armies are comprised in the name of their chieftain. In the Decalogue it is a regular *Synecdoche*; father and mother for all sorts of superiours; murder, for whatsoever hurt to the body of our neighbour; adultery, for all sins of intemperance; theft, all injuries in our neighbours goods. The sanctifying of an holy day, to comprehend the holy usage of all things sacred and consecrate to divine uses. So peace, the chief of blessings, stands in the Hebrew stile for happinesse; that is, all blessings whatsoever. Whence is their salutation, *Peace be unto you.* So *meeknesse*, of neer a kin to peace, stands here

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here for a generall name to all probity or honesty ; as lowlinesse did for religious devotion. For the yoke of devotion to God hath its peculiar to be taken on with stooping and humblenesse ; The yoke of a well ordered converse with men, with this tamenesse or meeknesse. For as *meeknesse* in the speciall sense is a virtue exercised onely towards men : so in the generall notion thereof , I extend it no farther ; making, as I told you, Lowliness and Meekness to share the Decalogue betwixt them.

Here now I might observe at large, how *meeknesse* seasoneth all our actions and carriage towards men ; giving that genuine sweetnesse and relish of virtue to them all ; this being the reason of that so generall acception of the word in the phrase of Scripture. I might also enlarge my self unto all the severall offices and duties of this virtue. But let me commend unto you those two, which are most principall and immediate, and therefore expressly required in our Liturgie, as the truest tokens of repentance ; namely, forgiving of offences, and satisfaction of injuries ; both of them genuine off springs of this meeknesse.

And ye shall finde rest unto your souls.

Here is that inestimable benefit , which befalleth those who *take up Christs yoke*, and learne of him to be meek and lowly, *they shall finde rest unto their souls* : For the understanding whereof we must know, that there is a twofold Ease mentioned in this Invitation of our Saviour : The one to those who come unto him

him by faith, *Come unto me, &c. and I will ease you,* or give you rest. The second, to those who *take up on them his yoke*; that is, the yoke of obedience to Gods commandments; a yoke, which Christ wore for our sakes, and made it his, that so he might make it possible for us to weare it, whilest the main weight still rests upon his shoulders: Those who put their neck to this yoke, *shall finde rest unto their souls.*

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These two Rests are neer of kin, but not the same; The first rest is that which Christ gives. The second, the rest which we shall finde. All those who come and apply themselves to Christ, shall have ease: But there is something else to be done, before our selves shall finde and know it; we must put our neck into the collar, and take his yoke upon us, and then there shall not onely be rest obtained for us, but we shall finde and feel our selves eased.

For a sinner hath a twofold burden; the weight of his sin, and the pain he feels thereby; for such is the condition we know of every one that is laden. Answerable therefore to this twofold burden; there is a twofold rest and ease to be attained: The first by taking off the burden by remission of our sin in our justification, when Christ discharges those who come unto him of their load, and beareth it upon his own back, by justifying and acquitting them of sin. The second is the ceasing of the pain, which the pressure of sin hath caused; when a sinner by wearing of the yoke of Christ, finds peace of conscience, and ease and rest unto his soul. For the pain and aking of the soul for sin, doth not presently cease, though sin be taken off: A man condemned to

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to die, doth not presently feel the comfort of his pardon as soon as it is obtained; for it may be gotten many daies before he knows it, and till then his pain and discomfort will be as if it were not gotten at all. Also a man that hath overlong borne a burden too heaue for him, is often, we know, so benumbed, that he thinks he feels the pressure of his burden still, some while after it is taken off his back: So is the case here; the pain of the soul will not presently cease, when Christ hath taken off our sin, nor will the joy and comfort of our pardon be so soon found, as our pardon is obtained.

Let this then be the first obseruation, That as those onely are justified and discharged of their sin by remission, who flee unto Christ by faith: so onely those have promise of rest and peace of conscience, who take his yoke upon them; and being as he was, meek and lowly, stoop unto God, and submit their lives unto his Commandments. Art thou heaue laden, and wouldest thou be discharged of thy sin? Go unto Christ, and he will ease thee. Wouldest thou know thy sinnes are acquitted? wouldest thou have peace, and feel thy conscience sweetly comforted? Take this yoke upon thee, learn of him to be yokeable, to be meek and lowly, to walk in the waies of God, and thou shalt finde rest to thy soul. *By this, saith S. Iohn, we know him (namely, to be our Advocate, and the propitiation for our sins) if we keep his Commandments.* There is no way but this to feel and have notice, thy sins are forgiven thee.

Many do trust all to a supposed faith, as a short
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and compendious cut to quiet their conscience, but never look to finde peace with God, so long as thou hast peace with sin: *There is no peace unto the wicked,* saith the Prophet. What *Jeheoram*, 2 King. 9. 22. asked *Jehe*, *Is there peace, Jehe?* What peace (saith *Jehe*) *so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel, and her witchcrafts are so many?* So saith God to all such whose life and conversation is unreformed; What peace can be unto thy soul, so long as contempt of his worship, extortion, defrauding of thy neighbour, covetousnesse, drunkennesse, backwardnesse to all good duties, reigne still within thee? If thou wouldest have peace in thy soul; if thou wouldest have the wringing torments of a troubled conscience to be calmed within thee; if thou wouldest finde out that peace of God, which passeth all understanding, let thy whole life and conversation, as far as thou art able, be ruled by the Law of God, weare that yoke which Christ thy Saviour hath made so easie: learne of him *to be meek and lowly*, and *thou shalt finde rest unto thy soul.*

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But some perhaps will say, What needs so much precisenesse and strictnesse of life? for my part I do as other men do, I can dispense sometime and take my pleasure in sinne, and am not thus yoked (as you speak) but take my liberty according as I see advantage, either for my profit, or contentment, and yet am not disquieted, but finde my soul at rest and ease without thus much ado.

I answer, It is hard to conceive that a man should

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give

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28, 29.*

give himself the reins to commit sin, and his conscience not to twitch him more or lesse, though he useth all the means he can to smother it. But if it doth not, thy case is so much the more wofull and dangerous : For alas, it is not rest and ease of soule, as thou misdeemest; it is but hardnesse and deadnesse of heart which thou mistakest for rest and quietnesse. A condition, then which there cannot be a worse, and of all estates of the soule, the most hopelesse. And this is the fruit of a customary violation of the conscience, which being often bruised, scratched at first with smaller sinnes, and at length rent and torne with greater, contracts one scar and brawn all over, and so becomes senselesse and unfeeling. How dreadfull therefore is it, if men would consider it, to adventure the conscience upon the least violence? if it indure but scratching once or twice, it is secretly, and before a man is aware, hardened to endure a wound. O let us be then tender to keep our conscience tender, else we are undone. Is it therefore indeed so with thee, that thou canst take thy sinfull liberty, and yet finde no scruple check thee? Canst thou cast off the yoke of Christ, and yet thy heart be at rest within thee, or at the worst, if it pants a little, it will soon have done? O rouse it up in time, else the time will come, when thy conscience will be so awaked, that all the world cannot quiet and still it. The longer it hath been smothered, the more dreadfull and unquenchable will the flame be, when it once breaketh out. No tongue of mortall man is able

to expresse the terrours which then shall overwhelm thee.

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In the day time we know Spirits and Hobgoblins usually walk not, but in the night time, when darknesse covereth the face of the earth: so in the brightnesse and sunshine of health and prosperity, what marvell though this terrible Fiend, an evil Conscience, doth not much haunt a dull and stupid heart: but in the darknesse of sicknesse, in the midnight of death, when the black times of calamity shall surprise thee, then will this grisly and gastly spirit begin to affright and scare thee, then will he roare in the chamber of thy soule, and most hideously rattle his Chaines about thine cares.

As the blows and bruises received in the flower of our youth, though we feel them not, will pain us in the decay of our strength, in our declining yeers: so the blows and bruises given the soul by sin, in the daies of our jollity and prosperity, will most grievously torment us, when by sicknesse, feare of death, or other calamity, our wonted mirth and transitory contentment shall be eclipsed, then, as the carcase of him that is slain, though it seemed stark and stiff, is said to bleed afresh at the presence of the murderer: so when our former and unfelt sins, whereby the soul was wounded and murdered, shall present themselves unto our view, as at such times they use to do, then our stark and benumbed conscience will gush out streams of blood, and be in danger to bleed unto eternall death. What would a man then give for this Rest

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18, 29.

unto his soul : even all the gold of *Ophir* ; all the riches of the East and West Indies ; yea, he would be content never to have had ease, never to have enjoyed any contentment (no not lawfull) in these worldly and transitory things all the daies of his life, so he might have but one dram of that comfortable quietnesse of soul, which a good conscience bringeth.

A good conscience therefore, from a life well led, is a Jewell unvaluable, for which a man should undergo the hardest task, and forgo all the contentments of the world ; if it could not otherwise be gotten. Which is the second thing I here observe: For our Saviour we see propounds it as a Reward and Prize, such as he thought sufficient to allure any reasonable man, even to abandon his liberty and freedome, and to enter a bondage, and to take a yoke upon his neck ; a yoke the sweetest that ever was worne, and far surpassing the greatest liberty in the world.

A good conscience, saith *Solomon*, *Prov. 15. 15.* is a continuall Feast ; that is, an everlasting *Christmas* : The twelve daies feast of our blessed Saviours Nativity, how it is longed for before-hand : how wellcomed when it comes : and yet it lasts but a short time. But a good conscience is a feast that lasts all the year, yea all a mans life long, and that too without satiety ; without fulnesse, without the least wearisomnesse. There are three things in a Feast which make it so pleasing and desirable, Mirth, good Company, and good Cheare. In this Feast all three of them are superlative ; for Mirth, all the merriment and

and musick, all the wine and good cheare in the world, will not make a mans heart so light and merry, as the wine which is drunk at the Feast of a good conscience. This is no superficial matter, but rooted in the very center of the soule. Whereas your Wine-mirth is but the smothering sometimes, if not drowning of a deeper grief; like the lustick fit in some Countries of such as are going to execution. *Give strong drink, saith Solomon, unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavie hearts.*

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For Society and Company, what Feast in the world can afford the like this-doth? For it hath not onely exceeding good, but all suitable and homogeneall, where is no admixture of ill. Here you shall have no unruly persons blaspheming God and men, to make themselves or others pastime: No unfavoury communication to stain and pollute by degrees the purity of the soul, and make our reckoning unsupportable, when the day shall come wherein we must give accompt of every idle word. But a good conscience hath ever good company, and so good, as will admit no ill. For the Father is with it, that great and mighty God who made us: The Son is with it, even Christ himself, who redeemed us; they sup and feast together. The holy Ghost is with it, who cheers up and sanctifies the hearts of all who come to this Table. What Feast in the world can shew so honourable, so loving, so cheerfull company as this? And for the last thing which makes a thing desirable, good Cheere: it is a Table richly furnished with

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all

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all Varieties and Dainties, a collection of all the Rarities and Delicacies, not which Sea and Land onely, but which Heaven it selfe affords. Who would not come upon any Invitation to partake of such a Feast as this?

PROV.



PROV. 30. vers. 8, 9.

Give me neither Poverty, nor Riches : feed me with food convenient for me, [חֲסִי]

Lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain. [וְחִפְשָׁתִּי שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי]



Hese words are a part of the prayer of *Agur*, a man for wisdom ranked with *Solomon*, and one of the two things he desired of God not to deny him before he died : The first was concerning his inward and spiritual estate, *Remove far from me vanity and lies*; that is, all impiety and sinful hypocrisie : for so *David* expressed them, *Psal. 4. 2. O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn Gods glory into shame? how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing?* The second is concerning his outward estate, *Give me neither poverty, nor riches; feed me with food, &c.*

This second suit contains two parts : 1. His Request : 2. The Reason thereof. His Request is doubly expressed ; First, Negatively, what he would not have : Then Affirmatively, what he would have. The Negative part in these words, *Give me neither poverty, nor riches* : The Affirmative in these, *Feed me with food convenient for me*; then follows the Reason, *Lest I be full and deny thee, &c.*

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Prov. 30.
8, 9.

Nevertheless this Request, though two wayes expressed, is not to be conceived as two, but one Request, both ways tending to the same purpose: for he that would be neither poor nor rich, must needs be in the middle; and he that hath neither too little nor too much, must needs have a competency, or food convenient for him. Therefore *Agur* reckons of this but as one petition, when he saith in the former verse, *Two things have I required of thee; deny me not them before I dye.* Else the things that he required would be three, if this of my Text made two.

Again, for the understanding of this compound suit, we must not so conceive it, as if he prayed absolutely against riches, or absolutely against poverty, (for so the prayer were unlawful, Poverty and Riches being of themselves things indifferent, and the blessing of God may go with both.) But it is a prayer of choice, or a comparative prayer; as if he had said, *Rather then either poverty or riches, Give me, O Lord, if it be thy will, the mean between both: Feed me with food convenient for me.* For though all three estates be indifferent, yet comparatively and for choice, the middle is the best and happiest condition. Such speeches by way of opposition or *Antithesis*, yet implying in their sense a choice or *Protimesis*, are frequent in Scripture. *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice;* not to be understood as though God forbade Sacrifice; but this, *I had rather have mercy then sacrifice.* So in the Gospel, *Lay not up for your selves treasures upon earth; but lay up for your selves treasures in heaven;* not to be understood as a plain prohibition to lay up earthly treasures,

treasures, but by way of choice or *καταρτισμοῖς*; Rather lay up treasures in heaven, then treasures upon earth; have a greater care of the one, then of the other; and many the like, for it is a frequent expression.

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

Thus having made the way plain and open to my Text, I come now to consider the several parts thereof: and First, The Request or thing prayed for; where, of the two wayes whereby it is expressed, I must for the more easie unfolding thereof, begin with the Affirmative, *Feed me with food, &c.* For if this be understood, we cannot be long ignorant of the other: If we know the mean once which *Agur* chooseth, we shall soon guesse what he understands by *Riches* and *Poverty*, the Extremes which he refuseth. *Feed me* (saith he) *with food convenient for me.* This convenient food is in the Original, *לֶחֶם דִּמְסִי* *Panis dimensi mei*; the bread of my competent allowance. The *Septuagint* turns it, *τὰ δέοντα, καὶ τὰ ἀρῶμενα*, *Things fit and sufficient*: *Symmachus*, *Δάκτυον ἰκανόν*, *competent dyet*. The *Chaldee Paraphrast*, *כֶּסֶף מִסֻּחָה* *Panem sufficientie mee*, for so *כֶּסֶף* or *מִסֻּחָה* signifies: for it is the word for *sufficit*, in the 15 verse of this Chapter, *Four things say not, Sufficit, It is enough.* It is the word for sufficient, *Exod. 36. 7.* where it is said of the offering for the Tabernacle, that which was offered was *sufficient for all the work.* And in *2 Sam. 24. 16.* where God sayes of the plague, *Sufficit, It is enough.*

Now by *bread* or *food*, the Hebrew understands, All provisions for the use of life: So competent food

1700. 30.
8, 9.

food is a competent maintenance; which to be the true meaning of this *panis dimensi*, Agurs deprecation of poverty on the one side, and of riches on the other, is a firm demonstration; for what else can it be, but a state of competency, which he begs, as the mean between want and superfluity?

And this is even that ἄρτος ὁ ἐπιούσιος, that *daily bread* which Christ our Lord in his prayer hath taught us all to pray for; τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῶν σήμερον, or as S. Luke hath it, τὸ καὶ ἡμέραν, *Give us day by day our daily bread*: Where the meaning in general is indifferent well agreed upon; but much ado there is what this word ἐπιούσιος should signifie. Not to trouble you with the rehearfall of so many varieties of interpretation, as the singularity of this word hath begotten, some nearer, some altogether wide of the mark: The plain truth is, That as Περίσιος, a word like unto this, was first devised by the *Septuagint*, so was ἐπιούσιος in this prayer made by the Evangelists in imitation thereof; neither of both being any where to be found but in Scripture onely. For the *Septuagint* of περισσία, signifying *Abundantia*, *Exuperantia*, abundance and superfluity, formed the Adjective ἐπιούσιος, to expresse the Hebrew word עֲבֵרָה and for עֲבֵרָה אֱלֹהִים a *peculiar people*, rendred λαὸς ἐπιούσιος, a *supernumerary people*; a people wherein God had a superlative propriety and interest, above and besides his common interest to all the Nations of the world: For, so he saith, *Exod. 19. Thou shalt be unto me λαὸς ἐπιούσιος, a Peculiar, above all people, for all the earth is mine*: As if he should say,
But

But you shall be mine in a degree above the rest.

According to the Example and Analogy of this περίσσιος (I say) the Evangelists here formed ἐπιούσιος: for as Περιβασία signifies an *Abundance* or *superfluity*, of οὐσία, a *Being*, and περὶ, *ultra*, or *super*, as it were *An overbeing*: so would ἐπουσία signify, A *sufficiency*, as it were τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, that which is adæquate to being, as *Suidas* hath it, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀρμόδιον, *Fit for our being and supportance*. Therefore as of Περιβασία, *Abundance*, the *Septuagint* made περίσσιος, *Abounding*: so the Evangelists of Ἐπιούσια, a *Sufficiency*, made ἐπιούσιος, *sufficient*. And this is agreeable to the *Syriack Translation*, the Language our Saviour spake, which hath here, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ The bread we have need of. Thus ἄρτος ὁ ἐπιούσιος is *sufficient bread*, and opposed to ἄρτος περιέσιος, *superfluous and superabounding bread*. All which will appear most clearly and elegantly, if we do but parallel these two words in the Petition by way of *Antithesis* in this manner, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν ὃ τὸν περιέσιον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὲς ἡμῖν σήμερον: Not ἄρτος περιέσιος, a *superfluous and superabounding bread*; but ἄρτος ὁ ἐπιούσιος, a *sufficient bread*, give us O Lord this day.

And thus we have seen that this prayer of *Agur* in my Text, is the self same with that our Saviour taught us in the Gospel; which *Tremellius* well observing in his most elegant Hebrew Catechism, he renders that petition in these very words of *Agur*, ܠܟܝ ܠܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ as though our Saviour had reference to them.

Now for the right understanding of this *sufficiency*,

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ficiency we are to pray for, we must know, that a competency is twofold; either in regard of Nature, which sufficeth to support a man in his natural life and health: Secondly, a competency in regard of a mans condition; which is sufficient to support & maintain him in that condition, order, degree & calling wherein God hath placed him. Both these degrees of sufficiency are meant in the prayer our Saviour taught us, *Give us this day our daily bread*; and in this of *Agur*, *Feed me with food convenient for me*, namely, for *Agur*. For perhaps that may not be sufficient for *Agurs* condition, which might suffice for another. But if *Agurs* condition were such as some mans is, that he needed no more then was convenient to maintain himself in his natural life and health, then the competency he must pray for, is no more then a competency in regard of nature. If *Agur* be a Master of a Family, then that is his competency, which is convenient to maintain his wife, children and household. If *Agur* be a publick person, a Prince or a Ruler of the people, then that is *Agurs* sufficiency which will conveniently maintain him in that condition.

For the competency which *Agur* prays for, is that which if he want, he is in poverty; if he exceed, he is rich. Now our own reason will inform us, that those means which would make a private man rich, a King may have, a Peer may have, and more too, and yet be exceeding poor. In a word therefore, as *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* said to *Gedeon*, Jud. 8. *As is the man, so is his strength*; the like may I say here, *As is the man, so is his competency*.

And

And in whatsoever condition God hath placed thee, thou mayest, yea thou oughtest to pray for a convenient food to maintain the same; but to ask more, thou hast no pattern, neither in this, nor in the prayer which Christ himself hath taught thee.

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Having thus fully explicated (as I think) these first words of *Agurs* prayer, Let us now see what Observations they will afford us, before we come to the Reason in the words following, where indeed is the marrow of the Text. First therefore, if we ought with *Agur* to pray against poverty, then is that Monkish affection of poverty no point of piety; the voluntary and vowed poverty, as they would make us believe, neither a state of perfection, nor a Religion acceptable to God. We know well enough what the poverty of Monks and Fryars hath been, for many hundred years, not a state of perfection (God knoweth) but a state of hypocrisie: For what poverty is that, I pray you, where a man is said to be poor, and to have forsaken all, because he hath nothing in proper, and yet hath a rich and plentiful share in the common? But suppose it were, as they say it is, and as amongst the ancient Monks it was indeed, and perhaps still among some of their begging Fryers, yet I say, such a wilful poverty is neither a state of perfection, nor a Religion acceptable to God: For if it were, it could not be lawfully prayed against, nor a competent sufficiency prayed for. But, *Give me not poverty, (saith Agur) but feed me with food sufficient for me.*

But

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But they alleage the counsel of our Saviour to the young man in the Gospel, *Matth. 19. 2. If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven*: Doth not Christ describe poverty here, as the way to eternal life? A ship in a storm is sometimes in that danger, as there is no way to save her, but to throw her lading into the Sea: The body sometime cannot be saved, unless an arm or a leg be cut off. If this yong mans soul were in danger of some such spiritual Gangrene, through his great possessions, then was this counsel of our Saviour a personal and particular advise unto him; but extraordinary cases are not to be made an ordinary practise. But I think this was not this yong mans case, for the Text saith, *Our Saviour loved him*, when he heard his replies, &c. And therefore I answer, that our Saviour spake this *πειρασμός*, Tryal-wise; as he did to the woman of Canaan, when to prove her constant faith, he told her, *he was not sent but to the lost sheep of Israel*. And as he did to Moses, Numbers 14. when to prove, or stir up his zeal in praying, he threatned utterly to destroy his people Israel; *I will (saith he) smite them with pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater Nation then they*. So our Saviour spake here to the yong man, by way of Tryal, to prove him, and to make him see and acknowledge, how much he was deceived, how far short he was of that perfectness of heart he deemed to be in himself, who thought he could have been willing and ready to do any thing for the attainment of everlasting life: *Master (saith he) what*

what shall I do, that I may inherit everlasting life? I have done all I know, command me any thing else what thou wilt, I am ready to undertake it. Our Saviour answers; By this shalt thou approve thy perfectness with God, if thou canst be willing for his sake to sell all that thou hast, and give it unto the poor. And this was a touchstone indeed; for the Text sayes, *He went away sorrowful*. And I make no doubt, but if many among us who think themselves some-body, would examine themselves upon this point, they would finde their hearts deceive them egregiously, and that they were not the men they took themselves to be. Art thou rich, and yet couldest thou be willing to forsake all thou hast to follow Christ? This is a scouring Tryal indeed. And yet should every true Christian be thus affected; to forsake all in the purpose and estimation of his heart, that he may be one of Christs: for, *He that loveth father and mother; houses and lands, better then him* (he that hath not forsaken them in his estimation and resolution) *is not worthy of him*. And this is that forsaking of the world in purpose and affection, to prefer Christ before the world, whereof S. Peter chiefly spake, *Luke 18. Loe, we have left all and followed thee*, (that is, we have set all at nought to follow thee) and yet *Peter* kept his house still at *Capernaum*. I leave it to be considered, whether such as these be not the *poor in spirit*, *Matt. 5.* that is, who in spirit and affection have renounced the world, and esteem of Christ above all riches. For these words are but once found in Scripture, and S. *Luke* seems to imply as much as I say, when
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he relateth the words, as spoken to and of the Apostles only; *Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.* But I will not contend for it.

Secondly, the Patrons of Monckery alledge the practise of the Primitive Church, *Acts 2.* who sold their lands and possessions, and laid down the money at the Apostles feet. I answer, they were *Jews* that did so, and none but *Jews* that did so. Shew me the like done among the Gentiles, when the Gospel came amongst them; which of all *S. Pauls* Epistles give any such precept, or intimate any such thing? But as for the *Jews*, those who once beleaved in Christ, beleaved also the destruction of their owne Nation to be within a few yeers after, and therefore they thought good, while there was yet time, to improve their Lands and Possessions to the best use, which they should not many yeers enjoy. And the occasion was now fit, at the first preaching of the Gospel, and gathering of a Church to Christ, to furnish the Apostles and others for this service and employment. And therefore when the Gospel was also spread among the *Gentiles*, the Apostles were so carefull for the relief of the poor Saints at *Jerusalem*, even those who at the first had disfurnished themselves of all, and at whose charge, as may be supposed, the Gospel was at the beginning preached among the *Gentiles*, *Rom. 15. 26, 27.* *1 Cor. 16. 1.* *1 Cor. ch. 8. and ch. 9.*

And seeing I have entred thus far into the question of Monckery, I will take leave to examine two more examples, which they bring to that purpose, though not so neer to the matter of my Text as the
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former. Thirdly, therefore the Patrons of Mon-
kery alledge the example of the *Rechabites*, of whom
we reade *Jer. 35.* that according to an Ordinance,
wherewith their Father *Jonadab* bound them, they
drank no wine, built no houses, sowed no seed, neither plan-
ted, nor possessed vineyards or fields, but lived in tents
all their daies. Which singularity of life seems not
onely to resemble, but to warrant that of Monkenry,
in those two main points of forsaking Possessions,
and abstaining from meats, seeing God himselfe
in that place commended those *Rechabites* for ob-
serving this ordinance of *Jonadab* their Father.

But I answer, this of the *Rechabites* was no mat-
ter of Religion, as that of Monks is, but a meer ci-
vill ordinance, grounded upon a Nationall custome:
For the *Rechabites* were of the race of the family of
Hobab the *Kenite*, *Moses's* Father-in-law, as you may
reade, *1 Chron. 2. 55.* Now the *Kenites* were *Midi-*
anites, and the *Midianites* were dwellers in Tents
from the beginning. This I prove first, because the
Arabians of those parts were such, both then, and
still are at this day. Secondly, the *Ishmaelites* and
Midianites dwelt together, insomuch that their
names are confounded in Scripture, or interchange-
ably used the one for the other; for *Gen. 37. 28.* those
Merchants to whom *Joseph* was sold, are promiscu-
ously called sometimes *Ishmaelites*, sometimes *Mi-*
dianites, as if they were both one people, as indeed
they both descended from *Abraham*, the one by his
handmaid *Hagar*, the other by his second wife *Ketur-*
ah. So *Judg. 8. 24.* the *Midianites* which *Gideon*
vanquished, are called *Ishmaelites.* They had (saith
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the Text) *golden ear-rings, for they were Ishmaelites.* Now it is apparent in Scripture, that the *Ishmaelites* or *Hagarites* used to dwell in Tents, whence 1 Chr. 5. 10. it is said, the *Reubenites* in the daies of *Saul* made war with the *Hagarites*, who *fell by their hands; and they dwelt in their tents, throughout all the Eastland of Gilead.* Besides, of the *Ishmaelites* were those famous *Scenit-Arabians*, mentioned in Scripture so oft under the name of the *Tents of Kedar.* Such therefore as the *Ishmaelites* were, may we deem the *Midianites* also to have been, who dwelt with them: and to put it quite out of doubt, we have so much told us in Scripture, in the prayer of *Habakkuk*, cap. 3. 7. *I saw, saith he, the Tents of Cushan (or Arabia) in affliction, and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.*

This custome of their Nation and Country, did that *Midian Tribe* of the *Kenites* (of which was the father-in-law of *Moses*) still observe, after they came to live in *Canaan* with the *Israelites.* So we read *Jud. 4. 11.* that *Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, severed himself from the Kenites, and pitched his tents unto the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kadesh.* See 1 Chron. 2. 55. according to *Hierome.* And this manner of living they seem to have retained, partly for to be a Badge and Cognizance of the Nation whence they were descended, and partly to live the more securely in the Land where they were strangers, either from the envie of the *Jews* at home, or danger of enemies abroad, to whom by this means they should be the lesse subject, as having neither houses to fire, nor
lands.

lands to be taken from them, but onely cattell, wherewith they lived, and tents, which they removed hither and thither, as opportunity served for pasture to feed them: Even as *Abraham* lived while he sojourned as a stranger in the land of *Canaan*, and in imitation of whom, being their Ancestor, perhaps this custome was derived to the *Midianites* his children.

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Howsoever at length it seems these *Kenites*, allured by the more pleasant living of the *Israelites*, began to change this custom of their Ancestors, which occasioned *Jehonadab* the son of *Rechab*, a famous *Kenite*, to renew it again, and binde his posterity to observe it; and to that end he forbade them altogether to drink any wine, lest desire thereof might occasion them to plant Vineyards, and so to build houses as the *Jews* did, and so to forsake the custome of their Nation: As perhaps licorousnesse of wine before had caused many of them to do. For certain it is, that *Jonadab* renewed but that which their Ancestors had observed long before he was born. And thus you see it was no order of Religion which they bound themselves unto, but a maintenance of a civill custome; and therefore the wilde *Arabians* and *Tartars*, who at this day live in like manner, are as good a pattern to warrant Monckery by as they.

But there is another example yet, wherein they put great confidence, as being established by God himself; and that is of the *Nazarites* in the Law, who bound themselves by a solemne vow to a singularity of life, not much unlike that of Monks

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(especially those of the ancient form) as to separate themselves unto the Lord, to drink neither wine nor strong drink, nor suffer a razor to come upon their heads, and to be accounted in a speciall manner *holy unto God* above other men.

I answer, if this be the example from which Monkery is derived, there needs no other argument utterly to overthrow it; and therefore it is as ill chosen as could be. For this law of Nazarism is one of the things expressly named, which the Apostles decreed at the Councell of *Jerusalem* should not be imposed upon the *Gentiles*, who beleevd in Christ. Look the 21. of the *Acts*, where *S. Paul* having made a *Nazarites* vow at *Cenchrea* for a certain time, according to the manner, *James* and the Elders of the Church at *Jerusalem* advised him to join himself with foure others who had the like vow upon them; and the time thereof also as *Pauls* was then to be fulfilled (for they were seldome perpetuall) and to take and purifie himself according to the Law with them, that the *Jews* might take notice he was conformable to the Laws and Orders of his own Nation, till God should dissolve the same. But as touching the *Gentiles* (saith *James* v. 25.) we have written and concluded, that they observe no such thing. Is not this plain enough? If therefore the law of *Nazarites* be the pattern of Monkish Orders, the Apostles agreed, the *Gentiles* should observe no such thing. And for the *Jews*, God hath now also dissolved their Temple, and all their legal Worship. Thus much for the first observation against superstitious and affected poverty; nor shall I need stand.

stand longer upon this part of *Agurs* prayer, *Give me not poverty.* There are not many of us willingly guilty on this side. I come therefore to the other side, whence my second observation shall be; That we ought not to covet, nor seek after abundance and excess in these outward things, but to have our aims and desires stinted at such a competence onely, as is convenient to maintain us in that condition and state wherein God hath placed us. Whatsoever is more then this, is sin: for what we have no pattern in the word of God to pray for, we have no warrant to covet or seek for. In the pattern for all our prayers, the Lords prayer, our Saviour alloweth us to pray for no more but a competency, *Give us day by day our daily bread*; that is, not a superfluous and superabounding bread, but a sufficient bread we pray thee O Lord to give us this day and every day. *Agur* in my Text, *Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food convenient for me.* *Jacob* in his vow, *Gen. 28. 20.* *If the Lord (saith he) will give me food to eat, and raiment to put on, the Lord shall be my God, &c.* Food he desires, but food to eat; Clothing he desires, but clothing to put on; so much as was sufficient for him and his to eat; so much as was sufficient for him and his to wear: This *Jacob* desires, but no more, and under these two words *Food* and *Raiment*, are comprehended all things needful for the maintenance of life, as may appear by the following words, where *Jacob* promiseth, that if God will grant him this his suit, of all that he should give him he would pay the Tenth unto him. But in the whole book of God

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there

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there is no prayer to be found for superfluity and abundance.

I would not be mistaken : I say not, it is unlawful to have and enjoy riches and abundance, if God give them, but unlawful to covet and seek after them : I know, the things of themselves are indifferent, and the good creatures of God were made for the use of man, if man abuse them not ; yea, plenty and abundance of them are called *the gift of God* ; and which is more, *the blessings of God* : *The blessing of God* (saith Solomon, Prov. 10. 22.) *maketh rich* : and it is the usual phrase of Scripture to say of those that became rich, that *God blessed them*. And they are blessings indeed, when God offers them, but no blessings to such as hunt and gape after them. *Abraham* was rich, *Jacob* was rich, *Solomon* and *David* were rich ; I mean, they had abundance wherewith God blessed them : But which of all these, or any other holy man in Gods book, do we finde to have long'd for, crav'd or labor'd after more then a portion convenient for them ? which of them made their desires Carvers of such abundance ? No : desire of abundance and superfluity, sutes not with the heart of Gods servants. *Jacob* indeed became rich, but desired, as you heard, but *meat to eat, and raiment to put on*. *Solomon* a King, for whose estate the greatest measure of these things was most behooveful, yet when God (1 Kings 3.) gave him his choice to ask what he would, and he would give it him, he asked neither riches nor honor, but a wise and understanding heart ; wherewith God was so well pleased that he tells him, *Because he had not asked riches nor*

honor

honor, therefore he would give him both riches and honor in that abundance, as no king on the earth should be like him. When riches come thus, they come then indeed as blessings: For God gives them as well-pleased, and accordingly as he sees them good for those to whom he gives them; and sends his grace with them, that those who have them may use them to his glory and their own good.

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On the contrary, to men whose hearts could never say, If God will give me but sufficient and convenient for me, I will lay me down and be at rest, and crave no further: To those whose hearts are restless, and mad after abundance and excess of wealth, whose desires are without all bounds in seeking after riches; Experience may tell us, that to such as these, riches seldom or never prove a blessing when they get them, but a curse; *He that maketh haste to be rich (saith Solomon, Prov. 28. 20.) shall not be innocent. They that will be rich (saith S. Paul, 1 Tim. 6. 9. speaking of such as could not rest with a competency) fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition.* We use to say, that those who have great losses are undone; but here he that getteth much is undone.

Wouldst thou then be happy and blessed in the enjoyment of these outward things, then desire no more in thy heart than thou mayest lawfully ask of God in thy prayer: Follow the counsel of Solomon, Prov. 23. 4. *Labor not to be rich, cease from thine own wisdom; viz. to seek to be rich, which is humane wisdom, but indeed plain folly.* Let neither thy

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desires,

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desires, nor thine aims outbound this of *Agurs*, to have *food convenient* for thee. If God sees it good for thee to have more, he will give it thee, and offer thee the means and opportunity thereof; without thy seeking. But if he sees it not good for thee, why wouldst thou have it? Thou hast enough already, if thou hast convenient. Howsoever, God hates a large and restless desire: Therefore be not covetous, be not greedy of much, lest if thou come by it, God give it thee not in mercy, but in wrath and displeasure.

My third Observation is, That a competency, or the middle estate between want and superfluity, is a choice to be preferred, as the best and happiest condition. We see *Agur* preferreth it before the rest, and that his choice was a wise mans choice, we cannot doubt it, when the Scripture records it as a piece of his wisdom: yea, even the wise-men of the Heathen were not ignorant thereof: *Horace*, *Anream quisquis mediocritatem diligit, tutus caret obsoleti sordibus tecti, caret invidenda sobrius aula*. *Seneca*, *Fata si liceat mihi fingere arbitrio meo*, &c. The reason is apparent, because it is the most free from such dangers, as both Extremes are subject unto, which *Agur* mentioneth in reason of his petition, to be perils of irreligion towards God, and injustice towards man: Great evils both of them, endangering the state of the soul, but I must not speak of them particularly here, they belong to the second part of my Text: And we shall not need look so far, for not only in that, but even in outward respects, we shall finde this middle estate to be the

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the safest condition. The low shrubs beasts will brouze them, and trample upon them: The high Trees are most subject to the violence of tempests, when those of a middle size are free from both. So a poor estate is subject to contempt, and so to be wronged and injured of every one that will: The rich and mighty are envied, and obnoxious to the rage of troublesome times, being looked upon by such as are able, and finde advantage to seise upon them. Onely the mean estate is most free from such perillous extremities, being as below envy, so above contempt.

If then our good and gracious God hath given us a convenient measure of means to maintain our condition, Let us think our line hath fallen unto us *in a pleasant place*, as the Psalmist speaks, *Psa. 16.* and that *we have a goodly heritage.* He that hath once a competency, let him be assured he hath all the contentment which is to be found in these temporary things, and experience will tell him, though riches may encrease, yet after a sufficiency once attained, contentment will encrease no more, though riches encrease never so much.

Thus much of that which *Agur* requested; now follows the reason of his Request, *Lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? &c.* Out of which, before we come to handle them particularly, let us make this general Observation, That the rule of our desires and endeavours, in the getting and enjoying of these outward things, ought to be our spiritual welfare, and the bettering of us to God-ward. This was *Agur's* rule, he desires such a measure

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measure of outward means , as might neither through fulness make him forget God, nor through want tempt him to sin, both against him and his neighbour. This is the Compass we ought to sail by, if we would avoid shipwrack: This is the Pole-star and heavenly mark, whereon our eyes in all our thriving courses should be fixed, and by it our desires and aims measured: That proportion of outward things and provisions for this life, which may best stand with our improvement to Godward, which may the most further and enable us, and the least endanger and hinder us in our religious devotions to God, and charitable duties to our neighbours; This should be the stint of all our worldly desires and endeavours under the Sun. More then may stand with this, is so far from being wished or sought for, that we ought with *Agur* to pray against it, and say, Lord, *lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*

But alas, we set the Cart before the Horse, we make not the worship of God, and our spiritual advantage, the rule of our aims in getting and enjoying of these temporal things: but on the contrary, we use to serve God and keep his Commandments, so far as may stand with our profit, with our covetous and ambitious desires, and no farther. And this was *Feroboams* sin, who forsooth would serve the God of his Fathers so, as he thought might stand with the safety of his kingdom, but no farther. But alas, what would it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? But *Feroboam* lost his kingdom too, which else

else God had promised to entitle unto his posterity: But let us be wiser, and as *S. Paul* bids us, *whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do else, let us do all to the glory of God.* Let this be the end of all our actions, and then we shall be sure to thrive here, and be blessed for ever in the world to come.

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8, 9.*

So much for the general Observation: now to the particular handling of the words, *Left I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord?* The words are plain, and their meaning is of Impiety and Irreligion: Give me not riches, lest I become ungodly and irreligious: for, as to know God in Scripture, is to worship and serve him with fear and reverence, so to deny him, is to be devoid of Religion toward him, to live as if there were no God. So it is said of the Sons of *Eli*, that they were sons of *Belial*, and knew not the Lord; that is, they acknowledged him not by love, fear and obedience, but lived as if they had said, *Who is the Lord?*

Now that men who abound in wealth and superfluity, are much subject to this malady, is so manifest by other places of Scripture, that *Agurs* fear was not without a cause. *Deut. 6. 12.* is a Caution given to *Israel*, when God should bless them with prosperity, *When thou shalt have eaten and be full, then beware lest thou forget the Lord, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.* Again, *Deut. 8. 10, 11.* *When thou shalt have eaten and be full -- Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and judgements, and his statutes, lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein, and thy herds and thy flocks multiply,*

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multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied. then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought &c. Ver. 17. And thou shalt say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath given me this wealth. Whence it appears, not onely how dangerous prosperity is to piety, but what it is to forget God, which is in my Text, to deny him, and to ask who he is; namely, to break his Commandments, Statutes, and Judgements, to be unthankfull for his blessings, and to attribute all to our own power and wisdom. Again, in Deut. 32. 15. Moses prophetically sings of Israel, Fesurun waxed fat, and kicked; Thou art (saith he) waxed fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatnesse; Then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation. Ver. 16. They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods, with abominations they provoked him to anger. And Hosea 13. 6. the Lord complains of the event of this prediction, According to their pasture (saith he) so were they filled, and their hearts were lifted up, therefore they have forgotten me: Rara sumant felicibus ara; I think it is sufficiently proved, and experience doth every where make it good.

The cause hereof is, the weaknesse of our nature through sin, not able to weild the blessings of God if they abound; even as the Physicians say, that a *Flethora*, or full state of body, is dangerous in respect of health, even though it be without impurity of blood; because nature, if weaker, then it cannot weild it; or if a while she be of equall strength, yet is soon, and sometimes suddenly overturned;
even

even such is the case here with our life and health spirituall.

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Secondly, Religious Devotion springs from humility and lowliness of minde, but abundance puffeth up with pride, as the Lord even now complained in *Hosea*, that *the heart of his people was exalted, and therefore they forgot him.* So in the quotation *Deut. 8.*

Lastly, a full belly is unfittest for Devotion and Prayer, and therefore in our devoutest Supplications we use fasting. Even as it is in plenteous feeding, so is it in the very outward enjoyment of plenty, whence ye heard even now the Spirit of God to expresse this abundance of outward things, by feeding, fulnesse, and fatnesse.

This truth thus confirmed, will afford us three uses or usefull observations: First, to consider the wickednesse of mans nature, which abuseth the abundance of Gods blessings, to dishonour him that gave them. Unthankfulnesse is a most hatefull vice, if but to men, and for such benefits as one man can afford another; how much more to be abhorred is unthankfulnesse to God, who is the *giver of all good things*? Yet amongst men, abundance of benefits will sometimes wring an acknowledgement from an unthankfull disposition, though a smaller kindnesse would not do it; but the contrary, the more benefits and favours are heaped, to grow so much the more unthankfull to him that bestows them; or the more his benefits increase, the more to wrong and reproach him; this I think is not easily sampled in the dealings and courtesies of man to man:

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

man: Yet thus, most unworthy and ungrateful wretches! are we wont to deale with our gracious God, not onely to be unthankfull (which were bad enough) but so much the more unthankfull, by how much his benefits encrease and abound toward us. The lesse we have, the more we acknowledge him: the more he gives us, the lesse we own him; and if so be we once arrive at a fulnesse, it is ten to one we plainly deny him, and ask Who is the Lord; and what a hideous unthankfulnesse is this!

If this were not so, *Agar* would never have grounded his prayer upon such a supposition; if it be so, we see why God is faine, for the most part, to deny those he loveth, abundance of these outward things: namely, lest by so doing, he might quite lose them, and utterly undo them. He knoweth our nature better then our selves, and moderates his blessings for our good.

Physick is an unpleasing thing (our stomachs are most against it) and a Potion is bitter in taste, yet in danger of life, if we be sick, or if we be but crazie and in danger of sicknesse, we are willing to submit our selves to the will of the Physician, as one that knows what is good for us better then our selves: We can endure in such a case to be abridged of our diet, to be restrained from our pleasure, to fast from our desired meat and drink, and not to be offended at him who shall thus abridge us, but to love him, yea reward him too, as who for this his care hath deserved well at our hands. Come on then, hath not God as much skill of the state of our souls, as any Physician in the state of our bodies? why should we

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we then take it unkindly or impatiently, when for our spirituall safety, he abridgeth us of that abundance which other men enjoy? Envie them not; it may be they are none of Gods patients, and so he takes no care of them, but lets them fill untill they surfeit and perish; but thou art under his cure, who is the great Physician; if thou beleevest it, thou wilt love him therefore, and quietly submit unto his will; and not be like the horse and mule, who because they want understanding, are impatient to be dieted or diminished of their fodder, though it be for their good, because they know it not.

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

Observe in the second place, the unreasonable folly of men, so greedily to long for, and pursue after that which so much endangereth their welfare and happinesse. For is it not a folly, never to think a mans self well, untill he be in an estate of greatest danger? It is as if a man should seek a Lion in his den, when he might safely have passed by without danger; or like the sillinesse of children, who long to have an Adder in their hands, because he hath a gay skin. Were it not much better, with *Agur's* choice, to sit somewhat low with safety, then to rise aloft, with continuall danger of breaking a mans neck? We would have we know not what; we daily pray that God would *not lead us into temptation*, and yet we long to be tempted; or it may be we are of *Socrates* his minde, who chose a shrew to exercise his patience; so we would have wealth in abundance, to approve our moderation. But as *Aristotle* thinks it not true valour and magnanimity to be φιλονεικῶν, to long to be in danger, but rather

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

ther to acquit himself well when he shall encounter it : so I think of a wise man ; he that shall do otherwise, I think him not wise ; if I should, I must take *Agur* for a fool.

Some perhaps are daring out of ignorance, whom if they have no better experience, yet even nature her self seems willing in some sort to inform them, whoby Divine Providence is so ordered, that in those places where Gold and Silver groweth, there grows neither grasse nor plant, nor other thing that is any thing worth ; to shew us how fruitfull the hearts and minds of such are wont to prove, as long after them, being as barren of goodnesse, as those Countries of grasse. But if any one, after he knows and is informed of the danger of such a condition, shall say with *Nero's* mother, when the Mathematician had told her, her Son should indeed be Emperour, but put her to death, *Me verò occidat, modo imperet ; So he may reign, let him kill me* : If any shall say so here, Let me be rich, though I perish, I yeeld him as worthy *Simon Magus* his blessing ; *Pecunia tua sit tecum in perditionem*.

My third and last observation is, a lesson of caution to those who are rich in this world, to keep a continuall watch over themselves, that they forget not God in their abundance. For though this estate be fickle and dangerous, as I have already shewed, yet it is possible to be happy therein, if competent and fit means be used ; and the beloved of God have been so. And those here have the best hope of successe, who have not by their ambitious and covetous desires tempted God in getting their abundance :

dance: Howsoever, as the wealth, so the care also and watchfulnesse of the owner, must be exceeding and abundant; for a ship of such sayle requires a skilfull Pilot, and extraordinary care in the stee-
rage.

*Prov. 30.
8, 9.*

Besides the generall means in all Estates to prevent declining from God, there is one more speciall meane in this case of abundance, which if it be not used, I am perswaded the danger neither can, nor ever will be avoided; and that is, to be fruitfull in good works; to be liberall and open-handed to the relief of the poor, and furtherance of all godly and sacred uses. It is S. Paul's charge, 1 Tim. 6. 17, 18. *Charge them that be rich in this world, that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, &c.* If thou wouldest have Gods blessing go with thee, follow Solomon's counsell, *Honour him with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase, for the earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof.* And he requires this as a tribute whereby we may acknowledge him to be the Giver of what we have. Away with words, or meer verball thanksgivings; God is thy Landlord, he requires a Lords Rent; those who use not to pay it, will soon forget who is their Landlord; which is the proper fountain of all the evill that comes by abundance. Nay, he that thinks this tribute of his goods is not due, doth already disclaim his Landlord, and deny God to be his Lord. When David made that bountifull and glorious offering for the building of the Temple, 1 Chron. 29. 11. he blessed him in this manner, *Thine, O Lord, is the kingdome, and thou art*

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exalted

Prov. 30.
8,9.

exalted over all : Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all ; all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee : If thou wouldest have the grace to say as David said, thou must do as David did.

Thus having considered the first part of the reason of *Agur's* prayer, why he prayed against riches : let us next examine the second, which moved him to pray against poverty also, *lest (saith he) I be poore and steal, and take the Name of my God in vain.* Poverty, we see, and want of things needfull, hath his dangers and evils, as well as riches and abundance. First, stealing; *lest I be poore, and steal.* Where by *stealing* we must understand as much as is forbidden in the eighth Commandment, not onely stealing by force and violence, which we call *robbery*, but stealing by fraud, couzenage, or detention of another's due; though not so punished by the Laws of Man yet as great a sin before God, as forcible robbing. You may finde all these kinds of stealing reckoned up together *Levit. 6.* and one and the same Sacrifice appointed by God for atonement of them; wherebeit it appears, the guilt is the same in his estimation whatsoever men think of them. *Ver. 2. If a son shall commit a trespass against the Lord, and lye with his neighbour, in that which was delivered him to keep, or in fellowship (or dealing) or in things taken by violence, or hath deceived his neighbour, Ver. 3. Or hath found that which was lost, and lieth concerning it, and sweareth falsely, in any of all these that a man doth, sin*

ning therein. Ver. 4. Then it shall be because he hath sinned, and is guilty, that he shall restore that which he took violently away, or the thing which he hath deceitfully gotten, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found, Ver. 5. Or all that, about which he hath sworn falsely : he shall even restore it in the principall and adde the fifth part more thereto. Then followeth the Sacrifice for atonement : here you may easily see how far this sin of stealing extends. And there is none of all these, but a poore man in extremity of want, is in danger to fall into ; as not onely Agur's fear, but daily experience may tell us, and therefore needs no further proof.

The second danger that Agur nameth is, of taking the Name of God in vain ; that is, of perjury and false swearing, as that which would follow upon stealing, as stealing doth upon poverty. The danger of perjury, upon committing of theft, was greater among the *Jews* then amongst us, by reason of a custome and law amongst them, to tender an oath to those who were accused or suspected of theft, to cleer and purge themselves ; for because theft was not punished by death, according to the Divine Law, but by restitution and recompense ; this course with them was just and reasonable, when no other evidence sufficient could be brought, to give an oath to the accused ; it being supposed, that the guilty party, where the punishment for theft was but restitution, would rather confesse his offence, then to incur so hainous a sin as the sin of perjury. But with us, who punish theft with death, this way of triall by oath, would be most unreasonable, it being most

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true

Prov. 30.
8.9.

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

true (though spoken by the father of lies) *Skin for skin, and all that a man hath, he will give for his life*. But that this manner of triall was practised among the *Jews*, the place I even now quoted out of *Leviticus*, for the kinds of theft, doth sufficiently manifest, where it is said, *If a soul hath committed such or such a kinde of theft, and lieth concerning it, and sweareth falsly, and again it is said, he shall restore all that about which he hath sworn falsly.* And *Exod. 22. 8. 11.* there is an expresse commandment to give an oath in a case of theft there mentioned. Hence it is, that the prohibition of theft and perjury are joynt together, *Lev. 19. 11, 12.* because the one depended on the other: *Ye shall not steal, neither deale falsly, neither lie one to another. And ye shall not swear by my Name falsly, neither shalt thou profane the Name of thy God, I am the Lord. Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him: The wages of him that is hired, shall not abide with thee all night untill the morning.* The perjury and false swearing here mentioned, the *Jews* understood to be specially intended in case of theft. For the same reason theft and swearing are coupled together, *Zach. 5. 3, 4.* and a curse pronounced against them both, *The curse, saith the Lord of Hosts, shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsly by my Name; and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it.*

And thus you see what speciall reason *Agur* had, in regard of the custome of his Nation, to adde to the first evil of *stealing*, the second danger of taking *Gods Name in vain*, because the one was like to bring on the other.

Yet

Yet I would not have you so to take me, as if I thought that we were altogether exempt from this danger; for though the occasion be less, yet we finde by experience, that our theeves will also forswear themselves, though no Law or Judge constrains them to swear at all. And for lying, the next neighbour to it, we finde that to be the ordinary, and almost unavoidable consequent of this sin. So that *Agur's* reason will fit us well enough.

*Prov. 30.
8, 9.*

The observations which we may gather from thence, are these that follow: First, that it is not lawfull to steal, no not in a case of want and necessity. For though *Agur* were poor, and wanted food convenient for him, yet were it a sin for him to steal; which makes him pray against it, *lest I be poor and steal*. For that which is of it self unjust and sinfull, no necessity can make lawfull or dispensable. Indeed, in ceremonies, and things by nature indifferent, the case is otherwise; necessity there dispenseth, as it did with *David* in eating of the Shewbread; for the eating of that bread more then other, was not of it self unlawfull, but onely for ceremony sake; but injustice is alwaies injustice, and such a one among other sins is theft, when we take that from another which is his, and by no right is ours.

It is therefore a preposterous plea, which poore men are wont to use, therewith to excuse themselves; What would you (say they) have us do: the world hath forsaken us; we have no friend to help us. Alas! have men forsaken you, and will you make God forsake you too! Will no body help you, and will you make your selves incapable of

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Gods

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

Gods help too? This is not the way to ease your crosse, but to procure a curse, and to draw a greater misery upon your heads. Nay, if you had not used these unlawfull courses, but had recourse to God your heavenly Father, and trusted upon him, *who clotheth the grasse and lilies of the field*, he would have provided for you; but now you shut the *gates* of his blessing and mercy against your selves. 2. Yea, but I am a poore man, and he from whom I have taken it, is well able to spare it; it will do him no harm, and me good. But who made thee a divider of other mens goods? Thou must not look onely whether he can spare it, but by what means thou comest by it. 3. But it is a small thing. The more base and abject sinner thou, who wilt corrupt thy conscience for such a trifle. Take heed, he that will serve the devil for so small advantage, if the devil once mend his wages, it is ten to one but he will mend his work.

This is the first Observation, and if we mark it well, here will be ground and roomth for another; for if it be a sin for a poore man to steale in his want from those that have enough; how much more hazardous is it, for a rich man to rob the poore; as many do by fraud, oppression, detaining the hire of the labourer, and the like? The poore mans need is strong temptation to make him steale; therefore *Agur* makes theft the poore mans danger, and not the rich, *Lest I be poore* (saith he) *and steale*; not *lest I be rich*, and steale; he hath no need, as we say he hath no direct temptation thereto, as the poore man hath, and therefore his sin is the greater: And indeed

indeed there can be no other reason for his theft, but the rich mans malady, he hath *forgotten God*, and saith, *Who is the Lord?* and then no marvell if he be ready for any sin.

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

The hainousnesse and unreasonablenesse of this sin, may appeare in that parable of *Nathan*, where-with *David* was so much incensed and convinced, 2 Sam. 12. *There were two men in a city (saith he) the one rich, the other poore; The rich man had exceeding many flocks, and herds; But the poore man had nothing save one little ewe-lamb, which he had bought and nourished up--- And there came a traveller unto the rich man, and he spared to take of his own flock, and of his own herd, to dresse for the wayfaring man that was come unto him, but took the poore mans lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him. And Davids anger (saith the Text) was greatly kindled against the man, and he said to Nathan, As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing, shall surely die, and he shall restore the lambe fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity.*

Hence in Scripture, for the rich to spoile the poor, is accounted a *crying sin*; which kinde of sins are in a degree above the rank of ordinary sins; viz. such as call for some visible and remarkable judgement upon the head of the committers. Judge of the rest by that which *S. James* saith of one kinde of robbing the poore, by detaining their wages. Little know some men, who out of a kinde of pride of their own might, and contempt of the poore, as scorning to acknowledge themselves obliged to them for their service, commit this sin, little con-

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der

Prov. 30.
8, 9.

der they how grievously they offend ; Behold (saith S. James, ch. 5.) the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entred into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. To conclude this observation, Men do not despise a thief, saith Solomon, Prov. 6. 30. if he steale to satisfie his soul when he is hungry ; yet if he be found, he shall restore seven fold. If the poore mans theft be punished seven fold amongst men ; sure, with God, the rich mans shall be punished seventy times sevenfold.

My third observation shall be, That we must avoid the occasions of sin, as well as sin it self. Agur prays not, that he might *not steale*, &c. but that God would keep him out of that condition which might occasion him to commit those sins. This might have been observed from the other part of Agur's reason, as well as this ; for there he desired God to keep him from that fulnesse, which might occasion him to deny and forget God ; but I choose rather to defer it hither. *Opportunity*, we say, *makes a thief* ; It is as true in the generall, That occasion is a snare, whereby a man becomes a prey unto sin. Eve, by talking with the Serpent, was at length caught to eat of the forbidden fruit. David, by seeing Bathsheba washing her self, was tempted to commit adultery with her. Peter, by intruding himself into the high Priests Hall, out of too much confidence of his own strength, came to deny his Master. For this cause God commanded his people in the Law, not onely that they should worship no Idoll ; but that they should demolish all the Monuments

ments of them; that they should make no covenant nor affinity with those who worshipped them; and all lest they might be drawn by these occasions to commit idolatry with them.

*Prov. 30.
8, 9.*

If this be so, we may see hence how much they deceive themselves, who think it makes no matter what company they keep, or what places they come in; they will look to themselves forsooth, and mean not to be corrupted, but onely to observe the fashions, either to satisfie their curiosity, or, as some will pretend, for the greater loathing of such abhorred courses. This is a dangerous principle, to play with the flames, as the flye doth. If thou wouldest avoid the sin, avoid the occasion also. And let me adde one thing more, Severall sins have their severall occasions, and their proper gins; but evil company is the devils Magazine, wherein are contained all occasions of all sins.

Now I come to the fourth and last Observation, which I gather from the last words of *Agur's* reason; That the commission of one sin makes way to another. *Agur* thought, if he were once brought to steale, he should not stay there, but be carried farther, even to forswear, and take Gods Name in vain, *lest I steale* (saith he) *and take thy Name*, &c. *Peter* first denied Christ, but the devil would not let him stay there, but made him curse and forswear him. *David*, having once committed adultery with the wife of *Uriah*, the devil took the advantage to make him commit murder too. Sin is like a Serpent, if it can but once get in the head, it will draw the whole train after. While there is no rift in a block,

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Prov. 30.
8,9.

it is hard for the wedge or axe to enter ; but if a rift be once made, it will enter all with a little driving. So with sin.

The reason is, because he that commits a sin, puts himself thereby, more or lesse, into the devils power ; who is not so negligent as to lose, or not to ply his advantage. The devil is the *prince of death*, *Heb.* 2. 14. Now death comes by sin ; therefore sin gives the devil a title, and first brought, and still bringeth man into the devils jurisdiction. Hence those who are converted to God, and acquitted of their sins, are said to be *delivered from the power of Satan unto God*, *Acts* 26. 18. But sin makes them again obnoxious to his power ; it reaches him a new hold of us, which (though perhaps) it be not so much, as he may quite pull us from God, yet will it serve him to pull us into many a transgression, and cost us much work, and a great deal of sorrow, before we get free again.

JUDG.



JUDG. I. 7.

As I have done, so God hath requited me.

Hese are the words of *Adonibezek*, one of the kings of *Canaan*, whom the sons of *Judah* and *Simeon* having taken prisoner in war, they cut off the thumbs of his hands, and great toes; The justnesse of which punishment so evidently sampling his forepast sin, forced him, though with a heaue heart, to give glory unto God, and say, *Threescore and ten kings, having their thumbs and great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table: As I have done, so God hath requited me.*

These words (without any longer preface) may be considered two waies; either simply, or absolutely in themselves, or with reference to him who spake them: In themselves they are an affirmation or historicall narration; that as *Adonibezek had done, so God requited him.* If we consider them with reference to the speaker, they are a Confession, as being spoken by him who did the fact, and suffered now the punishment; *Adonibezek* it is who saith, *As I have done, so God hath requited me.*

In the first consideration I observe foure things: First, that God punisheth sin with temporall punishment in this life, as well as with eternall in the life.

Judg. 1. 7.

life to come. Thus this miserable King here, feels the hand of God fall so heavy upon him, while he was yet in the world, that it makes him bitterly cry out, *I have done cruelly*, and God hath even here *requited me*. Secondly, that God doth not alwaies presently inflict his judgements, while the sin is fresh, but sometimes defers that long, which he means to give home at the last: So saith our king here; *As I have done*; not as I did even now, but as I did long ago, and thought by this God had forgotten me, yet now I see he requiteth me. Thirdly, that these Divine Judgements, by some conformity or affinity, do carry in them, as it were, a stamp and print of the sin, for which they are inflicted: So saith this unhappy king; *As I have done*; even just as I have done to others, now I suffer my self: Seventy kings thumbs in my cruelty I cut off, and in my pride, made to feed like dogs under my table. Now the measure which I mete unto others, is measured unto my self, for just *as I have done, so God hath requited me*. The fourth observation is, That the profit and pleasure which men aim at when they commit sin, will not so much as quit cost even in this life: For if Gods punishments be requitable, certainly the profit we have gotten by sin, he will make us lose in the punishment: The pleasure we either hope to finde, and seek after in sin, will be overpoised in the pain we are sure to feel, when the just hand of the Almighty shall requite us.

And thus have you already the summe of what I mean to deliver in the first consideration of these words. Now to returne againe, and treat more largely

largely of them all, and that in the same order I gave them out. The first Collection is, That God punisheth the sins of men, with temporall punishment in this life, as well as with eternall in the life to come. *This verity (to use the words of Zophar, Job 20.4.) was known in the daies of old, and found true ever since man was placed upon the face of the earth: For as the Apostle saith of righteousness, that it hath both the promise of this life, and of the life to come; so it is most true of unrighteousnesse, that it hath the curse of this life, as well as of the life to come.*

The first sin of our first Parents, whereof we all stand guilty, was thus punished, as it were, to be a rule and law of what God would do after. I say, the first sin of our first Parents was punished with a curse in things of this life. From hence come all the outward calamities and miseries of mankind, wherein the happiest man on earth hath his share; hence our labour and vexation of spirit; hence our pain, our want, and all our trouble wherein we travell under the Sun: No man in the world is exempted from this law, all of us feel a present punishment here in this life, as well as feare that which shall come hereafter in the world to come.

Now as the universall misery we all feel, is a temporall punishment of an universall sin; so the clods of daily sin, which we adde unto this great mountain of transgression, doth usually bring us under some speciall kinde of punishment, above that which we have in common with other men. The whole history of the Bible, if we look well into it, is most
part.

Judg. i. 7.

part taken up in examples of this one Maxime : whosoever thinketh otherwise, he hath taken too slight a view, and too short a survey of the worlds affairs. Perhaps he sees the person of a tyrant, of an oppressor, of a blasphemers, to live long in jollity, and to end his daies in tranquillity ; or, to use the words of *Job* in the same argument , *To spend their daies in wealth, and in a moment (without any more trouble) go down into the grave.* How is it then true, that God requiteth sin in this life, or that any regard should be had to any temporall calamities, or worldly dysasters ; since they come alike to the just and unjust, to the foole and to the wise, to those whom God favoureth, as well as those he favoureth not.

But for answer hereunto, we must know, that the way of God in temporall punishments is one, and his way in eternall and spirituall, another ; he deals not after the same fashion in both. For eternall punishments in the world to come, the person which sinneth shall alone suffer, and no other for him ; but as for temporall punishments, which are seen in this world, sometimes God laies them upon the person, sometimes upon the posterity of the offender, or sometimes upon others, which in such like respects are neer unto them, as he sees best in his wisdom. When therefore thou seest a man live in open and grosse sins, confine not thine eye unto his person onely, but look farther about him, survey his whole family, if nothing appear while he is living, yet after his death consider of his posterity, and thou wilt finde the waies of God to be

be just and glorious in the avenging of sin and wickednesse. *Judg. 1.7.*

This question was long debated between *Job* and his friends, and at last came to this very issue; *Job* himself determining and affoiling it after this manner; *I will teach you* (saith he, chap. 27:) *by the hand of God; that which is with the Almighty will I not conceale. Behold all ye, your selves have seen it, why then are you thus altogether vain? This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and the heritage of oppressors, which they shall receive of the Almighty. If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword, and his off-spring shall not be satisfied with bread, &c.*

The reason of this difference between temporall punishments and eternall, is to be gathered from the severall and different ends of them both: Because they are for divers ends and purposes, therefore the way of God is divers in the execution of them. The end of eternall punishments, is to satisfie the justice of God, in avenging sin; but the end of temporall punishments is chiefly exemplary; that is, for example and warning unto others, that they might hereby know that God regardeth and observeth the actions of men, and therefore feare lest the like might come unto themselves, which they have seen to have befallen other men.

Now for such an end as this, it is not alwaies requisite, that God should punish every offender in his own person, because the punishment here respecteth not so much the person of the offender himself, as others who have been witnesses of his sin, that they might take heed of committing the like.

Now

Judg. 1.7.

Now this end may be as well attained in the punishment of a mans posterity, subjects, servants, as of his own person : For by both alike may others see that God observeth the sins of men, and hath plagues in readinesse for those which commit them : and by both alike will men be afraid of the hand of God ; seeing most men do most vehemently wish the good and happy condition of their posterity, and others having like relation unto them ; Kings, the weale of their Subjects, Fathers the good of their Children, Husbands the good of their wives, and therefore will refrain from doing that which they see by experience of others, may bring a plague or a curse upon any of them.

Yea, God so much regardeth this exemplary end in temporall punishments, that I think this to be one chief reason why God forgiving the sin, and consequently eternall punishment ; yet he remitteth not temporall plagues and chastisements, lest when the sin is notoriously known and scandalous, those who saw the sin, and could not so well know of the inward reconciliation between God and the sinner, might stumble and doubt in their hearts, whether there were a God or no, who observeth the waies of men. In this sort, and for this end, was *David* punished, whom though upon his humble repentance *Nathan* had told, *The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die* : yet neverthelesse did God raise him up enemies out of his own house, he took his wives from before his eyes, and gave them unto his neighbour, and the sword never departed from his house, according as the Lord had spoken. The reason
hereof

hereof follows in the Text, in the words of *Nathan*; *Because, saith he, by this deed thou hast given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child also which is born unto thee, shall surely die. The child also; that is, all the former plagues, together with the death of the child, shall come upon thee for this end,* 2 Sam. 12.

This then being so plain, what end God chiefly aims at in his outward and visible judgements, we ought hence to learn, what to do as often as we see the hand of God fall heaue upon any open and known sinner; namely, to accomplish in our selves the end which God aims at, to examine our actions past, to amend our lives, lest as bad, if not a worse thing, befall us or ours. And if at any time we see an example of this upon one of Gods own children, as we heard of *David* before, a *man after Gods own heart*; let us learn to fear and tremble, and say, If such things befall those whom God most loveth, what shall become of us if we sin likewise? Again, when we see God punishing sin in the eyes of the world, let us acknowledge his all-seeing providence, and say with those, *Rev. 15. Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy waies, thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy Name, when thy judgements are made manifest?* And with *David*, *Psal. 9. & 11. The Lord is known by the judgement which he executeth, for the righteous Lord loveth righteousness.* See also *Psal. 52.7.*

The second thing I observed, is, that God often forbears and defers his punishments. *As I did long*

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Judg. 1. 7.

ago, saith *Adonibezek*; yea, again and again, seventy times, one after another; so long and so often, that I thought God had either not seen, or quite forgotten me; yet now I see he requiteth me.

Psal. 73. 2.

Jer. 12.

How true this observation is, is sufficiently witnessed by their experience, who have little lesse then stumbled and staggered hereat: This made *Cato*, a heathen man, to cry out, *Res divina multum habent caliginis*: This made *David*, a man after Gods own heart, to confesse and say, *My feet were almost gone, my steps had well-nigh slipped*. This made *Jeremy* cry out, from the bottome of an amazed soul, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee, yet let me talk with thee of thy judgements; wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? why are they happy that deal very treacherously?* Yea, those Martyred Saints, *Rev. 6.* are heard to cry from under the Altar, *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell upon the earth?*

Rev. 18. 7.

Now as these forenamed have stumbled at Gods delaying and forbearing his judgements, so others there are who have been quite deceived, verily believing that with God, *Quod defertur, aufertur*; what was forborn, was also forgotten. Such an one was *Adonibezek* here, who having escaped so long, thought to have escaped ever. And such were those whereof *David* spake, *Psal. 10.* *Who say in their hearts, We shall never be moved, we shall never be in adversity.* Such an one is the great Whore of *Babylon*, that sings, *Καὶ ἔρημαι βασιλεῖσα, I sit like a Queen, and am now widow, I shall see no sorrow.* Such an one was *Pherecydes Syrus*, master of *Pythagoras*, and a famous

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mous Philosopher, and one that is said to have been the first Philosopher that taught among t^e Greeks the soul to be immortall; and yet among all his knowledge, had not learned this one principle, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. For as *Ælian* reports, he used among his scholars to vaunt of his irreligion after this manner, saying, That he had never offered sacrifice to any God in all his life, and yet had lived as long, and as merrily, as those who had offered an hundred Hecatombs. But he that thus impiously abused the long suffering of God, came at length to an end as strange, as his impiety was unusuall; for so they (*Plinie* and others) report of him, that he was stricken like *Herod*, by the Angel of the Lord, with such a disease, that ~~for~~ pents bred of the corrupt humours of his body, which eat and consumed him being yet alive.

But that we may neither distrust the righteous waies of God, nor prevent his unsearchable counsels with our over-hasty expectation, let us a little consider of the ends why God oftentimes defers and pro'ongs his judgements. These ends I suppose may be referred unto foure heads.

First, for the sake of godly ones, for whom God useth to forbear even multitudes of sinners: so had there been but *ten righteous persons in Sodom*, Sodom had never been destroyed; *I will not destroy it* (saith God) *for tens sake*. So for good *Josiah's* sake, God deferred the plagues he had decreed to bring upon that people, that *Josiah might be first gathered unto his fathers in peace, and his eyes might not see all the evil that he was to bring upon that place*: as it is

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2 Kin.

Judg. 1.7.

2 Kin. 22. *For as the new wine, saith the Lord (Isa. 65, 8.) is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it; even so will I do for my servants sake, that I may not destroy them all: That is, I will spare a whole cluster of men, even for one or two blessed servants of mine, which I shall finde therein. This is the first end; and this is most, if not onely, found in publick judgements, and common sins, such as concern whole societies of men, for in such properly doth God, for the sake of godly ones, forbear a multitude of sinners.*

2. The second end is, to give time of repentance and amendment: *For the Lord is long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, as it is 2 Pet. 3. 9.* This is shewed by the parable of the fig-tree, Luk. 13. *Three yeers the husbandman came to seek fruit, and found none; and the fourth yeer he expected, before he would cut it down.* An hundred and twenty yeers the old world had given them before the flood came. And *Fonah* proclaimed (not yet one day, but) *Yet forty daies and Nineveh shall be destroyed.* This end concerns such punishments as deprive men of life, and of the means of salvation, and of amendment of life: For such as these onely can God be said to forbear, to give time of repentance. For as for other punishments, not the forbearance, but the hastening of them rather, would cause repentance; seeing men then use to remember and call upon God, when they are in misery and affliction.

3. The third end of Gods deferring his punishments, is the opportunity of example by them unto others,

others, and of manifesting his own glory. God is Lord of Times; and as he created them, so he alone knows a fit time for all things under the Sun. He therefore who knows all occasions, when he seeth a fit time for his judgements, to profit other men by example, and most of all to set forth his own glory, then he sends them forth, and till then he will defer them.

Judg. 1.7.

4. The fourth reason hath some affinity with this, and it is, when God intending some extraordinary judgement, suffers mens sins to grow unto a full ripenesse; that their sins may be as conspicuous unto the world, as his purpose is their punishments shall be. Thus God punished not the *Canaanites* in *Abraham's* time, but deferred it till *Israels* coming out of *Egypt*: And that, as himself witnesseth, *Gen. 15. Because the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.* And therefore is not this last end to be looked for in all Gods delays; but it seemeth proper to his extraordinary punishments, when God meaneth, as it were, to get himself a name amongst men: Then God staies to have the sin full, upon which he will poure a full viall of wrath and indignation.

Having thus seen how many ends there are why God should oftentimes defer the execution of his judgements; the consideration hereof may be a double lesson unto us: First, a lesson of spirituall wisdom, that we should not think with Epicures and children of this world, that Gods delay in punishing for a time, is any argument he means not to punish at all. But with wise *Solon*, let us account

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Judg. 1.7.

no man happy, but him who ends happily. Secondly, we may learne here also a lesson of Christian patience, when we behold the prosperity of wicked men, let it not grieve us to see sin a while lye unrevenged; let it not grind our hearts to see those, who make a *trade of wickednesse*, a while to triumph, and be, as it were, at defiance with heaven it self: For either God doth it for the good of some of his Saints, and then how can we but blesse him? or else to give them time of repentance; and then who art thou, O man, that repineest at the mercifulnesse of thy God? or else to wait a fit time when thy self and others, may be the most edified thereby, or his own glory most illustrated, or when men may take greatest notice of his justice. Admire therefore his wisdom, and let the expectation of that renown which God will one day purchase to himself, make thee rest in hope, and possesse thy soul in quietnesse. Why should the Heathen go before us in this duty? they knew not so much as we have heard this day, and yet could they rest themselves in an assured expectation of Gods justice, though a while it were deferred: As is very observable in the words of *Agamemnon*, expressed by *Homer*, *Iliad*. 4. upon occasion of the *Trojans* perfidious perjury:

"Εἴπερ γὰρ πῦρ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπῳ ἐκ ἐπείλει, —
 "Ἐκ πῦρ οὐκ ἐπείλει. —

Though, saith he, the God of heaven avenge not this presently, yet sure at last he will do it.

Εὖ γὰρ ἔγωγὰ πῶδε οἶδα, — for of this I am sure,
 "Εἴωε.

Ἐστίαι ἡμέρῃ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἰλιόφις,

Judg. 1.7.

that there will be a day when stately Troy shall be overthrown:

*Nam licet haud fontes praesenti puniat ira,
Sera tamen sumit Deus, & graviora malorum
Supplicia*——

What could Job, David, or Jeremy, have spoken more freely in such a case? Me thinks I durst apply the words of our Saviour concerning the Centurion, *We shall scarce finde so great faith in Israel.*

But now I passe unto the third point chiefly to be observed in these words; namely, the conformity between the Sin and the Punishment: Temporall punishments have for the most part, as it were, a character stamped upon them, in which men may reade their sins as well, ostentimes, as if they heard God himself speak from heaven. Adonibezek could do it with small learning; he saw his punishment so evidently branded with the mark of his sin, *Three-score and ten kings* (saith he) *having their thumbs and great toes, &c.*

Which rule of Gods justice; appears by those words of our Saviour, *With what measure ye mete unto others, the same shall be measured unto you*: And by that of the Prophet Obadiah, ver. 15. thus threatening Edom, *As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy reward shall return upon thine own head.*

Mat. 7.

But for the better discerning of this conformity with the sin, which God stampeth upon the punishment thereof, we must know that it is of four severall kinds: The first is, παντοπαθεια, when we suffer

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Judg. 1.7.

fer by the hand of God the very same things our selves, which we have done to others. Such was *Adonibezeks* punishment here, and such was that wherewith *Habakkuk* cap. 2. 8. threatens the Chaldeans; *Because thou hast spoyled many nations, All the Remnant of the people shall spoyle thee.* And *Ezechiel*, the Edomites: *As thou didst rejoyce in the desolation of Israel, so will I do unto thee; Thou shalt be also desolate.* Thus *Pharaoh* who commanded all the males of the Hebrews to be drowned as soon they were borne, himselfe with all this Hoste was drowned in the Red Sea. *The depths covered them, they sunke unto the bottome like a stone,* Exod. 15. 5. *David* committed Adultery with the wife of *Uriah*; his own son *Absalom* did the like with his Concubines *in the sight of the Sun and face of all Israel.* *Foram* like a villain slew all the sonnes of his Father, and so did the *Aramites* by the will of God, slay all his sonnes likewise, onely *Jehoaz* excepted. *Jehoiakim* who slew *Uriah* the Prophet, *Fer.* 22. and would not suffer his body to have honest buriall; himselfe, according as *Jeremy* had foretold, was likewise slain, and buried with the buriall of an Ass, being cast forth beyond the gate of *Jerusalem*. I shall not need trouble you with profane stories, or tell you how *Brutus* and *Cassius* were forced to slay themselves with the same swords, wherewith they slew *Cesar*; with many other like.

Exod. 1.22

2 Sam. 16.

22.

2 Chr. 21.

v.4. & 17.

Jer. 22.

csm 26..

The second kind of conformity is *ὁμοιωθεῖα*, when we suffer not the very same, but that which hath some Analogy and resemblance with our sins: Thus the universall overflowing of sinne in the old world,

world, was punished with an universall overflowing of waters. It was the common punishment of the Jewes, when they served other Gods besides their own, for God to make them serve other Lords and Kings besides their own. Look in the Scripture, and see whether this were not the regular punishment of Idolatry with God, thus to requite his people with that which resembled their sin : To give them over to serve other nations, when they served other Gods besides himselfe ; As *Jer.* 5. 19. *Like as ye have forsaken me, (saith the Lord) and served strange Gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours.* So also, *2 Chron.* 12. 5. *ye have forsaken [עֲבַדְתֶּם] me, and therefore have I also left you [עֲבַדְתִּי] in the hand of Shishack.* And after they had humbled themselves, the Lord sayes by *Sheraiah* the Prophet, verse 7. *They have humbled themselves, therefore I will not destroy them, but grant them some deliverance, &c.* verse 8. *Neverthelesse they shall be his servants, that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the Countries.* *Vulg.* *Ut sci- ant distantiam servitutis meae, & servitutis regni Ter- rarum.*

And certainly, if we look into the condition of the Church since Christs time, we shall find the way of Gods dealing in this case to have been the same. The *Saracens* who spoiled and subdued so great a part of Christs Church, were never heard of till 600. yeares after Christ, even at the time when Christians began generally to fall to Idolatry, and to worship Images, Saints and Angels: then God first gave us over to serve other nations, when we began
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Judg. 1. 7.

Judg. 1.7.

to serve other Gods besides the Lord our God. The Turkish fury could never be stayed from casting more and more this yoke of bondage upon our necks, untill *Judah* (I mean, the now reformed Churches) began to put away her Idols some one hundred yeares since: from that time unto this, that God which would have spared *Sodome* for ten righteous sake, hath spared the remnant of Christendome for their sakes, who have turned again to the Lord their God to serve him as he would be worshipped.

1 King. 11.

But to go on: *Solomon* when he divided that worship which was due unto the Lord alone, between him and the Idolls of *Zidon*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*; the Lord, to give him the same measure, divided his kingdom, and that alleageance which was only due to him and his posterity, between himselfe and his servant *Feroboam*; because he served God with an imperfect heart, God left him an imperfect kingdom; because he bestowed divine honour upon the vassals of the Lord of heaven, the Lord also bestowed his honour upon his vassall *Feroboam*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had lived like a beast in his Palace, God made him to eat grasse like an Oxe in the field, till he knew the most high ruled in the kingdoms of men, Dan. 4. *Otho* Bishop of *Mentz* in a time of famine, shut up a great number of poor people in a Barne, promising to give them some relief: But when he had them fast, he set the Barne on fire, and hearing then the most lamentable and pitious cryes shreeking of the poor in the middest of the flames, he scoffingly said, *Heare yee how the mice cry in the Barne.*

2 King. 12.

Barne. But the Lord, the just revenger of cruelty, sent a whole Army of Mice upon him, which haunted him a great deal worse then the frogges did King *Pharaoh*, not onely coming into his bed-chamber, and upon his bed, but following him into a Tower which he had built for his last refuge in the midst of the River *Rhene*, never leaving him till they had quite devoured him. *Socrates* hath a memorable story of one *Cyricius* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, who in a meeting of many Bishops, inveighed very bitterly against good *S. Chrysostom*, and amongst other spitefull language, called him often ἀγνώμων, a kneelesse fellow, because in a good cause he would never be gotten to bow and crouch to obtain the favour of men, which *Cyricius* accounted a stubborn and obstinate disposition. But when he had thus uttered his malice, *Marathas* another Bishop by chance trode upon his toe, which being at the first esteemed (as it was indeed) a very small hurt, yet afterwards so rankled, that for the safety of the rest of the body, his leg was fain to be cut off; which done, the other leg also was in like manner affected, and that so, that being otherwise incurable, it was fain to feel the same remedy the other had done. Thus he, who called the holy man a kneelesse fellow in one sense, God made him a kneelesse Bishop in another. By which and the former examples, we see how God in punishing requites men with that hath some resemblance with their sin.

The third kind is, *conformitas subiecti*, a conformity of the subject, when though we suffer not the same, nor perhaps like unto that we have done unto others,

Judg. 1.7.

Numb. 16.

Judg. 19.

others, yet are we punished in that subject, wherein and whereabout we have sinned. Thus *Adam* our first Parent sinned in eating the fruit of the earth, and he and all his posterity are punished in the curse of the same, in that now in sorrow we eat of them all the dayes of our life. Touching Gods dealing with *Israel* in this kinde, see *Wisdom* cap. 11. v. 7. 15, 16. *Korah* and his company sinned in offering strange fire unto the Lord, and were punished by a strange destruction, the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up quick, many thousands also of the people being consumed with the fire of Gods wrath breaking out in a plague amongst them. The Levites wife in *Judges*, sinned in the Commission of Fornication, and therefore died by the same, being forced to death by the men of *Gibeah*. *Eli*, by too much indulgence toward his sons, sinned against God, and was punished in them, being slain by the Philistines, and the Ark of God taken, which they had carried with them, 1 *Sam.* 4. *David* gloried in the number of his people, and was punished in the Consumption of 70000. of them by the pestilence, 2 *Sam.* 24. *Hezekiah*, who sinned in shewing by way of ostentation, his treasures and riches unto the Ambassadors of the King of *Babylon*, had his punishment threatned by the same things, that all he had thus gloriously shewne, should one day be carried unto *Babylon*, 2 *Kings* 20. Lastly, the Jewes, who crucified our Saviour by the hand of the Romans, had their City and Temple rased by the same hands.

The last kinde of conformity, is conformity of
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Prov. 30.
8, 9.

circumstance, when the time and place of punishment agrees with the time and place of the sin: Of the agreement of place. I find these examples: The first of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*, In the place where the dogs licked the blood of *Naboth*, they licked the blood of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*; 1 *Kings* 21. In the place where *Baals* Priests had committed Idolatry, were their bones being dead, and the bodies of those who were alive, slain and burnt by *Josiah* upon the Altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Kings* 23.

Examples of concurrence of Time I finde these: At the same time of the year wherein the Jewes crucified Christ, hapned that fatall and finall siege by the Romans, when that heavy curse fell upon them, *His blood be upon us and our children.* The Spies, *Numb.* 21. which brought an evill report upon the land, had spent forty dayes in searching it, and therefore God for this sin, that time might agree with time, made them wander up and down forty years in the wildernesse. They are the words of God himselfe, *According unto the number of dayes, (saith he) in which ye searched the land, even 40. dayes, each day for a year, shall you bear your iniquities.* Last of all, (because I will not be tedious in Examples) *Pompey* the great is reported to have dyed most miserably upon the same day, he triumphed for the spoile of *Ferusalem*.

The fourth and last observation is, that the profit and pleasure which men seek for in the works of sin, will not so much as quit cost in this life, because Gods punishments are requitals; the profit gotten by sin we shall lose wholly, if not doubly in the punishment

glory of them. In a kingdome all kinds of profit, and means of wealth aboundeth; and for pleasure, what delight is equall unto that which is to be found in the glory of a kingdome?

Judg. 1. 7.

To speak of them severally: What power and force a motive of gain and profit hath to sway our affections to commit sin, *S. Paul* hath told us, *1 Tim. 6. 9. Those, saith he, that would be rich, fall into temptation and the snares of the devil; and elsewhere, that covetousnesse is the root of all evil.* The same also is apparent by the words of our Saviour, *It is as easie for a camel to go thorow the eye of a needle, as for a rich man to enter into the kingdome of heaven, Mat. 19. 24.*

And for the other, to wit carnall pleasure; so forcible it is, so much prevailing in tempting and drawing us unto evil, that the wise Son of *Syrach* sticked not to say, *He that resisteth pleasure, crowneth his own soul.* Besides, these ends are so neerly linked together, that the one of them is commonly desired for a means unto the other; for therefore do many desire wealth, that they might have means to live voluptuously. But be they as they will be, if this be all the good men do, or can expect from the works of sin; if these onely be those faire ends we strive to attain by so foule a means; and when we have gotten them, if the just God requites the pleasure we expect, with pain and sorrow; and the gain we hoped for with an equall, yea a greater losse; if the pleasure of a moment, be entertained with a remaining sorrow; if a single gain be rewarded with a double losse, and that in this world; surely it will not quit the cost, to commit the most gainfull or plea-

Judg. x. 7.

pleasing sin in the world. But certain it is, that God useth thus to meet with our intendments, and to make us alwaies fall short, first or last, of what we hoped for by sin.

For as for pleasure and hearts-ease, as we call it, alas, who ever found this gotten by sin; worth the while? To overpasse such requiting pains as fall within the observation of other mens eyes; as when God makes our pain and sorrow to grow even from those members, those eyes, those hands, those things from which we sought delight, as I shewed you in the last observation; I will, I say, omit these, and put you in minde only of that secret pain, which no man knows, but he that feels it, *the sting of conscience*. Is there any man that finds not the honey of sin mingled with this gall? Surely the sting of conscience never leaves a sinner, but is in all our pleasure like unto those wilde gourds, *2 Kings 4.* wherewith the young Prophets of *Gilgal* spoiled their whole pot of pottage: We cannot taste so much as one spoonfull of this false pleasure, but presently we must cry as they cried, *Mors in olla, death is in the pot.*

As for profit and wealth; it is even gotten into vulgar experience, that what in this kinde is gotten by sinfull and bad means, is nothing durable: *Treasures of wickednesse* (saith *Solomon*, *Prov. 10.*) *profit nothing; and wealth gotten by vanity, shall be diminished, Prov. 13.* Yea, as the feathers of an eagle are said to consume the feathers of other birds; so a little gotten by indirect and bad means, often consumes a mans whole substance. I cannot stand to enlarge upon

upon this point : I will onely shew in the example of our first Parents, how God in this manner requited them.

First, they looked for pleasure in the taste of so pleasing a fruit ; this hope God repaid them with pain and sorrow ; *I will multiply thy sorrow* (saith he unto the woman) *and in pain shalt thou bring forth children :* And to the man , *In sorrow shalt thou eat the fruits of the earth all the daies of thy life.* They looked secondly, to have gained much, and to have profited themselves exceedingly ; as namely , to have gotten more knowledge then God had given them : This hope God requited, not onely with the losse of that knowledge they had before, but even of the outward things they enjoyed in Paradise. *Primum in unoquoque genere , est mensura consequentium :* Thus God dealt with them, and thus will he deale with us unto the worlds end. Sin is utterly unprofitable ; whatsoever is gotten thereby, is like the change (*Diomedes* made with *Glaucus*) which *Rehoboam* made of the shields in the house of the Lord, shields of brasse for shields of gold.

Let us therefore hence learn to withstand such foolish motives , and such vain hopes ; when we are in danger to be ensnared by these baits, let us thus reason with our selves, What will it profit a man to enjoy an houres pleasure , for many a yeers pain ? What will the sweet do us good , which is mixt with so much sowre ? what will it profit a man to be rich in his youth, and a begger in his age ? what will it profit a man, by guile and oppression to raise his house while he liveth, by that which

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dg. 1.7.

shall most certainly ruine it when he is dead and gone. And lastly, if none of all this were, yet *What will it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul?*

Now having done with the first consideration of these words, I come unto the second, which is with relation to him that uttered them, and so they are a Confession. In which I observe three things: First, that the suffering of punishment extorts the Confession of sin: Thus this miserable king is made, for all his pride and stomach, to lament with an *Ego feci*, with an *I have done*. Secondly, Gods justice in the punishing of sin visibly, is one of the strongest motives to make an Atheist confesse there is a God. *Adonibezek*, who scarce beleaved, or perhaps not well remembred there was a God till now, is here forced to confesse, The unresistible God, that crusheth down the proud, he *hath requited me*. Thirdly, as the punishment in generall bringeth sin to minde, which else would be forgotten: so the fashion and kinde thereof well considered, may lead us, as it were, by the hand, to know the very sin we are punished for. Many sins had *Adonibezek* committed; the condition and manner of his punishment, made him remember his cruell usage of the seventy kings, and say, *As I have done, &c.*

To begin with the first, I say, the suffering of punishment extorts the confession of sin. The reason whereof is the very nature of punishment, which alwaies implieth some offence, and therefore is a good remembrancer of the same. Thus *Joseph's* brethren, when they were distressed in *Egypt*, cried,

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We are guilty concerning our brother. Proud Pharaoh, when he saw the plague of haile and thunder, said, *I have now sinned; the Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked.* The proud stomachs of the Israelites came down, when once the fiery serpents stung them, and then they came to Moses, and said, *We have sinned; for we have spoken against the Lord, and against thee.* Manasses, whom all the threatnings of Gods Prophets in 50. yeers space, could never move; yet when he was bound in fetters, and carried prisoner unto Babylon, *Then he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers,* 2 Chr. 32. Whosoever therefore he be, that feels not this fruit, and makes not this use of his crosses and afflictions, is worse then hard-hearted Pharaoh, worse then cruell Adonibezek. But if by this means we come to see and acknowledge our sin, then may we say with David, *It is good for me that I was afflicted;* and give thanks and praise unto our God, who is able out of such hard rocks as these, to make flow the saving waters of repentance.

My second Observation is, That Gods judgments for sin, is one of the strongest motives to make an Atheist confesse there is a God. Those who say, *There is no God,* David accounts them in the number of fools: *The fool saith in his heart, there is no God,* Psal. 53. Now Solomon stileth punishment *Eruditio stultorum;* the Schoolmaster of fools. If for all fools, then also for Atheisticall fools, that they either by their own, or by example of Gods plagues upon others, may be taught to put away their folly.

Judg. 1.7.

Most certain it is, the not observing of Gods judgements, or the supposed examples of some, who seem to escape the hand of God in the greatest sin, is a main occasion of Atheism : This made *David* himself to say, *My feet were almost gone, my steps had well-nigh slipped; for I was envious at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked.* It is reported of *Diagoras Melius*, surnamed the Atheist, that at the first he was very devout, and a great worshipper of the Gods; but having committed some certaine money unto a friends keeping, and afterwards demanding it again; his friend loth to forgo such a booty, forswore that he ever received any: whom when *Diagoras* saw, notwithstanding this horrible perjury, to thrive and prosper, and no divine judgement to fall upon him, he presently turned Atheist and enemy to the Gods, and laboured by all means to bring other men to the like impiety.

For this cause therefore, *David*, as jealous of Gods honour, and knowing what force Gods judgements have to keep Atheism from creeping into the hearts of men, desireth God, *Psal. 59.* that he would avenge himself of evil doers, even for this end, that it might be known that he was the Lord : *Consume* (saith he) *in thy wrath, consume them, that they may not be, and let them know* (that is, men may know) *that God ruleth in Jacob, unto the ends of the earth.* And hence it is also, that God often in *Ezekiel* doth plainly affirm this to be the end of his judgement, that it might be knowne that he was the Lord : As in the sixth chapter thus he threatens *Israel*; *Your cities shall be laid waste, and your high-places shall*

shall be desolate, &c. and the slain shall fall in the midst of you, and you shall know that I am the Lord; And again, he that is far off, shall die by the pestilence, and he that is neer, shall fall by the sword; Then shall ye know that I am the Lord. And chap. 25. concerning the Philistims, I will execute great vengeance upon them, saith the Lord, with furious rebukes, and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall lay my vengeance upon them. If this then be so as ye have heard, let us learn hence a good preservative against Atheism, and all the ill motions of the devil and our flesh drawing thereunto; not lightly, as most men do, to passe over the judgements of God upon sin, but duly and diligently to observe them, if in our selves, then more severely, if in our neighbours, curiously but charitably.

Judg. 1.7.

The third and last point is, that as punishment in generall bringeth sinne to minde, which else should be forgotten: so the fashion and kinde thereof well considered, may lead us, as it were, by the hand, to know the very sinne we are punished for. I have shewed already at large, that Gods visible judgements have usually in them a stamp and mark of conformity with the sin, for which they are inflicted: For either we suffer the same thing our selves, that we have done to others, or some resembling or like unto it; or else are punished about the same thing wherein our sin was; or lastly, in the place or time, when and where we sinned. I am perswaded, there is no judgement which God sends for any speciall sin, but

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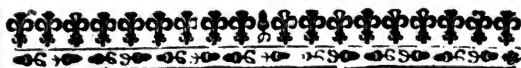
it

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it hath one of these marks in it. Come therefore to *Adonibezek*, and let us learn of him by Gods stamp in our punishment, to finde out what sinne he aims at. If we would once use to read this hand-writing of God in our crosses and afflictions, what a motive would it be to make us leave many a sin, wherein the devil nuzles us the greatest part of our life without sense and feeling? For if any thing would rouse us, and scare us from sin, sure this would, to heare word from God himself, what the sin is he plagues us for, and so sharply warns us to amend. Whensoever therefore any crosse or calamity befallerh us, or any of ours, either in body, goods, or name, or in the successe of any thing we take in hand, let us not rebell against God with an impatient heart, or fret at the occasion, or author of our misery; but let us take a just account of our life past, and thus reason with our selves; This is surely none other, but the very finger of God; I am punished, therefore have I sinned; I am punished thus and thus, in this or that sort, in this or that thing, in this or that place or time; therefore God is angry with me for something I have done, the same with that I suffer, or something like unto it, or because I sinned in this thing, or at this time, or in this place, where I now am punished: *As I have done, so surely God hath requited me.* Therefore I will not look any longer upon any other cause or occasion of this misery, of this crosse or calamity, but look unto my sin, and give glory unto God, who sent the hand which hath done all this unto me.

Thus

Thus did the sonnes of *Jacob*, having no doubt learned of their good father to make this use of their crosses and afflictions; For when they saw themselves so roughly entertained in *Egypt*, being challenged for spies of the countrey, when their brother *Simeon* was to live in prison in a strange land; and not onely this brother, but another brother, so dearly beloved of his father, must needs be taken from him, and come into the like jeopardy; when all this distresse fell still upon the head of a brother, and nothing but a brother; they presently discovered the hand-writing of God, and cryed out, *We are guilty, and therefore is this evill come upon us*: Behold the finger of God. All this evill still lights upon one or other of our brethren; for *we are guilty concerning a brother*, our brother *Joseph*, in that *we saw the anguish of his soule when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distresse come upon us*. Ah! said *Reuben*, I told you, I spake unto you that you should not sin against the child, but you would not hear, therefore behold his blood is now required; yea this writing of God is yet more evident, for we sinned in the dearly beloved of our Father *Joseph*, and now are we distressed about our brother *Benjamin*, the child whom our Father loveth, *As we have done, so God hath requited us*.



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מְכַל-מִּשְׁמֶר נָצַר לִבְךָ כִּי־מָנוּ חַיֹּת הַיּוֹם.

*Keep thy heart with all diligence, (above all keeping)
for out of it are the Issues of life.*



Very way of man (saith the same mouth who uttered this) is right in his own eyes, but the Lord pondereth the hearts, Prov. 21. 2. & cap. 16. 2. All the ways of man are clean in his own eyes, but the Lord weigheth the spirits : which words have this discrete sense, that although the eyes of men judge of the rightnesse of the wayes of men, by that which appeareth to the eye, yet God he is not as man, nor judgeth like him, but he pondereth the heart and spirit : Therefore in Scripture he is styled, a God that searcheth the heart and reines: I the Lord (Jer. 17. 10.) search the heart, I try the reines, even to give every man according to the fruit of his doings. Which words our Saviour useth, Apoc. 2. in his Epistle to Thyatira, I am he which searcheth the hearts and the reines, and I will give unto every one of you according to your works : That is, men esteem of works as they see, but I judge and reward them as I see: men punish and reward

reward; according to the outside onely, which comes under the view, and stands in awe of men: but God judges and rewards according to the heart or inward man, which he onely sees, and which therefore stands in awe and fear of none but him: For, as for the outward act, it may as well be done for the praise and awe of men, as for love and fear of God; and therefore by it cannot be discerned whether our obedience be to God or man. But the heart is that divine Touchstone, as that which hath none to fear, none to please, none to approve it self unto, but him who alone sees it, and is onely able to try and examine it.

If therefore any precept, any admonition in the whole book of God, deserve the best of our attention to hear, and greatest care to put in practise; this of my Text is worthy to be accounted of that number, *Keep thy heart above all keeping; for out of it are the issues of life.* The words divide themselves into two parts; An Admonition, and a Motive: The Admonition, *Keep thy heart above all keeping;* The Motive, *For out of it are the issues of life;* that is, even as in the life of nature, the Heart is the fountain of living, and the well-spring of all operations of life; so in the life of grace, we live to God through it. In the Admonition consider 1. The act, *keep*: 2. The object what we are to keep, *our heart*: 3. The manner and means how it must be kept, *with all diligence, or above all keeping.*

Of the act *keep*, I shall not need say much, it is an easie word, and we shall not forget it in that which follows, but ever and anon have occasion to repeat

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repeat it. Onely here observe in general, That our hearts are untrusty, unruly, and obvious to be surprised; for such things we are wont to keep: and so much therefore is implied, in that they are to be kept, else they needed no keeping. This is therefore the condition of our hearts; they are untrusty, the *heart is deceitful above all things*, Jer. 17. 9: therefore it stands in hand to watch it, to suspect it, and deal with it as we would with a notable Jugler, or with an untrusty and pilfering servant, to have a jealous and a watchful eye over it: For, if our eye be never so little off, it will presently break out into some unlawful liberty or other. 2. It is an unruly thing: if it be once lost, a man cannot recover it again, without much time and labour: for, it is like unto a wilde horse, if the bridle be once let go, he will be gone, and not gotten again in haste; yea, it may be we shall be forced to spend as much time in recovering him, as would have served to have dispatched our whole journey: So if the bridle of watchfulness be once let go, and our hearts get loose, they will not easily be regained: it will ask us no small time to temper and turn them again for the service of God. Lastly, our hearts are continually liable to surprise; we walk in the midst of snares, encompassed with dangers on every side. What is that almost which will not entice and allure so fickle a thing as the heart from God? we can be secure of it at no time, neither sleeping nor waking; in no place, neither house nor street, neither bed nor board; not in our Closet, no not in the Church and Pulpit.

The

The next thing to be considered, is, the object it self, the *heart*, *Keep thy heart*. By *heart* we must understand inward thoughts, motions and affections of the Soul and Spirit, whereof the Heart is the Chamber. But not a natural mans heart, for that is not worth a keeping; but such a heart as lives to God ward, a good and gracious heart, which consists in two properties, in Purity and Loyalty. This is the state and temper we must keep our hearts in. I will speak of them in order, and first of Purity and Cleanness: We must keep our hearts in purity and cleanness; *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*; and none but such shall ever see him. It behoves us therefore to know what this Cleanness is, the having or not having whereof concerns us so nearly. Know then, a clean or pure heart is that which loaths sin, and loves righteousness: For the better understanding whereof, we must further know, That an absolute cleanness and pureness of the heart and soul from sin, is not attainable in this life, *Prov. 9. c. 20. Who can say I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?* yet is there a cleanness of heart which must be had, and without which we shall never see God, as you heard before. Such was that which *David* prays for, *Psal: 51. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.* And *2 Tim. 2. 22.* true Christians are described to be such as call upon the name of the Lord out of a pure heart. *1 Tim. 1. 5.* The end of the commandment, saith the Apostle, is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and saith unfained. And himself *2 Tim. 2.* thanks God whom he

every good motion, which the Spirit of God shall put into it, and if he indeed loath and abhor unclean and sinful thoughts, will do his best to stifle them, and remove them far from him.

This cleanness and purity of heart, is that which the Scripture styleth *Holiness*, even that holiness without which, S. Paul tells us, *Heb. 12. 14. no man shall see God.* For in the Law, the legal cleansing, washing and purging of that which any way belonged unto God, or was prepared for his presence and service, is called *sanctifying* or *hallowing*, *Exod. 19. 11.* When the Lord was to come down upon Mount Sinai, *Go unto the people* (saith he to Moses) *and sanctifie them to day and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes.* *2 Chron. 29. 5.* Hezekiah saith to the Levites, *Sanctifie now your selves, and sanctifie the house of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy place.* And accordingly in the 16 ver. the Priests go in to cleanse it; which cleansing in the next verse is called *their sanctifying it.* In *Deut. 23. 14.* where a Law is given for cleanness and neatness in the Camp, the reason is rendred in these words, *For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy Camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee: Therefore shall thy Camp be holy, that he see no unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee.* The same expression S. Paul applies to spiritual cleansing, *2 Cor. 7. 1.* *Let us* (saith he) *cleanse our selves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.* Here, with S. Paul also, holiness is cleansing, and cleansing holiness: So *Eph. 5. 26.*

As

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As therefore under the Law, that place was not fit to entertain the presence of God, nor any thing duly prepared to approach or come near him, which was not thus externally cleansed and sanctified: Such is the case of the inward cleansing of the heart, unless it be sanctified with purity and cleanness, God will never dwell in it, nor suffer ought from it as acceptable to come near him. Wherefore it is not without good reason we pray in our Liturgie, *O Lord, make clean our hearts within us; and take not thy holy Spirit from us*: For, Gods Spirit will not dwell in a sty; it is a clean Spirit, and will have a clean habitation. That which S. Paul speaks of the whole man (2 Cor. 6.) *Ye are the Temple of the living God; wherefore touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you*, is principally true of the heart and spirit: The rest of the body is but as the Court of the Temple; but the seat of his presence in the spiritual man as the holy place, is the heart; even it is also the seat of life in the natural; *primum vivens & ultimum moriens*.

But by what means should a man get and keep such a heart as this? How is this holiness and cleanness of heart to be come by? I answer, the general means in some part to obtain this, and all other graces of God, is faithful and devout prayer; but this being common to all graces, is not proper to be spoken of in this place. Let us therefore see a means more special and peculiar, for obtaining this cleanness and purity of heart; such a one as though it may have some use for other graces, yet I think is more proper unto this, then unto any other whatsoever;

soever; and that is for a man alwayes to possess his heart with the apprehension of Gods presence, and to walk before him, as in his eye: Wheresoever thou art, there is an eye that sees thee, an ear that hears thee, and a hand that registreth thy most secret thoughts: For, *the wayes of men* (saith Solomon, Prov. 5. 21.) *are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his doings*: How much ashamed would we be that any one we loved and honoured, should surprise us in our corporal uncleanness, to see and behold any nasty pollution, either of our bodies or chambers? How would a man blush and be confounded to be taken and seen in the manner, as we speak? But every unclean thought, wicked desire and motion of our heart, is more open and revealed to the eyes of God, then the works themselves, if we should put them in execution, could be visible to the eyes of men. Yea, and these thoughts and desires wherewith our hearts are besmeared, are as foul, ugly, and loathsome in his sight, as the works themselves would appear shameful in the eyes of men, if we should commit them openly in the street, in the sight of the Sun. Nay, suppose that men could see our hearts as well as they may our out-works, would we not be as much ashamed they should behold the foulness of the one, as see the shamefulnes of the other? Consider it, what if such a Patron, such a friend, such a one to whom I desire to approve my self, should know what I now ruminate in my heart, what unchaste pollution, what other abhorred desire and lust it now wallows and delights in, should I not blush and be ashamed?

What

Sceptra non ferunt socium : Kings can endure no co-partners. Nor can a purpose of obedience mingled with Exceptions and Reservations, stand with a true faith and allegiance to Christ our Lord. *In Anima, in qua peccatum regnaverit, non potest Dei regnare regnum*, saith S^r. Jerom. For how can he be a faithfull servant of Christ, who still holdeth correspondence, and is a prisoner to his Arch-enemy the Devill? Even such an one is he who hath any sinne which he holdeth so dear, that he hath no purpose nor will to part with it: What will it profit thee to keep thy heart at all, unlesse thou keepest it loyall? Will God accept a peece of thy heart? No, he will have thy whole heart, and a whole soul or none. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and whole minde*: otherwise thou keepest not thy heart to God, but betrayest it unto the devill: for one breach in the walls of a city, exposeth it to the surprize of the enemy, one leak in a ship neglected, will sink it at last into the bottom of the Sea.

First, if thou wilt therefore have a loyall heart, know that such a heart cherisheth no darling sin, no *Herodias*, no bosome sin, such a dead fly as this will marre the whole box of oyntment.

2. A sound and loyall heart is not that w^{ch} bogles & scruples at smal sins, but makes no consciēce of greater; like the Pharisees straining at a Gnat, & swallowing a Camel; nor the contrary, whose conscience is only for the greater matters of the Law, *Mercy & Iudgment*, without any regard of *Mint* or *Annise*; A loyall heart is like unto the eye troubled at the last moat.

3. A loyall heart as it hates all sinnes, so at all

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times;

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times; sometimes the unsound heart will hate sinne when there is no benefit by it; but if it chance to be once beneficiall to our selves, then we love it. Here is the triall of a loyall heart to God, to perform, to prefer vertue before vice, then when in humane reason vertue shall be the loser, vice the gainer. This note discovered *Jehu*, who destroyed the worship of *Baal* with a great show of zeal, but when it came to *Feroboams* Calves, he dispensed with them, lest it might prove dangerous to his kingdom, if the *Israelites* should go worship at *Jerusalem*.

To conclude; a loyall heart is that which the Scripture calls in the old Testament a *perfect heart*, לבב שלם, or תמים, Not perfect in respect of degrees, for such a perfection is not attainable in this life; but perfect in respect of parts, *Cor integrum*, a heart wherein no part is wholly wanting; howsoever weak and a great deal short of due proportion. 1 Kings c. 11. when *Solomon* was old, his wives turned away his heart after other Gods, and his heart [לבב] was not perfect with his God, as was the heart of *David* his Father; not because he served not the Lord at all, but that he served him not onely and intirely. *Joshua* 24. 14. Now therefore, saith he, feare the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and truth, Heb. (תמים in perfectnes and truth) and put away the Gods which your Fathers served: which was as much as to say, serve the Lord wholly, and quite renounce all service to others. 2 Kings 20. 3. *Hezekiah* prayes in his sicknesse, Lord I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, חזק, and have done that which is good in thy sight. He saith not, he had done perfect Actions; or performed

performed perfect service, (for who can do such?) but yet that he walked with a perfect heart, that is, with a loyall heart before God. So 1 Kings 15. 14. it is said that though *Asa failed in his Reformation*, and the high places were not removed; neverthelesse *his heart was perfect* (that is, loyall) *☐w with the Lord his God all his dayes.*

Thus much shall suffice to have been spoken of the *Act, keep*: and of the *heart*, the object of our keeping; which are the two first things I observed in this Admonition. The third remains which is the manner or means, how our heart is to be kept, *viz. with all diligence* or *above all keeping*, saith the Text: that is, with the best, the surest, the chiefest kind of keeping; which is not onely now and then to look unto it, but to set a continuall guard about it. Nature hath placed the heart in the most fenced part of the body, having the breast to defend it: If the heart be in fear or danger, all the blood and spirits in the body will forsake the outward parts, and run to preserve and succour it; If nature be so provident for that which is but the fountain of a naturall life, what care should the spirituall man have to keep his heart and soul guarded and fortified against all Annoyances spirituall? The life we lose, if this be wounded or poysoned, is unestimable; the other of nature, is of no great value.

Yea but perhaps a naturall mans heart is lyable to more naturall dangers, then the heart of a man that lives to God-ward, is of spirituall Annoyances? I answer, the contrary is true: For the heart we speak of, whence the Issues of the life of grace proceed,

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is

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is like a city every moment liable to inward commotion and outward assault : which in the fountain of original Impurity, is continually more or lesse bubbling with Rebellion, without the World and the Devil continually either assault it, or lye in Ambuscado to surprize it. The World batters it with three great and dangerous Engines of Pleasures, Riches, and Honours, wherewith she endeavoureth to lay it waste, and rob it of all heavenly treasure. The Devil watcheth every opportunity to hurl in his fiery darts, to cast all into a combustion, and thereby farther to invenome and enrage the already too much impoisoned vitiousness and impetuoufness of our corrupt nature. How needful a thing is it therefore to follow this precept of *Solomon*, to keep our hearts with all diligence, or above all keeping ; to keep them with a continual guard, to keep a continual watch and ward, lest the enemies surprize them ? *Watch and pray*, (saith our Saviour, *Matth. 26.*) *that ye enter not into temptation. Watch in all things*, saith *S. Paul* to *Timothy*, *2 Tim. 4. 5.* *Be sober, be vigilant*, saith *S. Peter*, *1 Pet. 5. 8.* *because your adversary the devil as a roaring Lyon walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.* If the heart be to be kept with all diligence, or above the keeping of any thing else, then is this watch we hear commanded, and this guard of prayer (and this is a strong guard) to be chiefly and above all applied unto it.

But for a more particular direction of this guarding of the heart, we must be careful to observe this order following : As those who keep a City attempted

tempted or besieged by an enemy, have special care of the Gates and Posterns whereat the enemies may get in; so must we in this guard of the heart, watch especially over the gates and windows of the Soul, the Senses, and above all, the eye and the ear, whereat the devil is wont to convey the most of those pollutions wherewith the heart is wasted: First, concerning the Eye, *David's* example may warn the holiest men to the worlds end, to have a watchful jealousie over it. What a number of Cut-throats did one idle glance upon *Bathsheba* let in? who made that Royal Heart, whose uprightness God so much approved, to become a sty of uncleanness, and robbed it of those heavenly ornaments, wherewith it was so plentifully adorned. For the Ear, take heed of obscene and wanton talk, which by those doors or windows entring like balls of Wildfire, inflame the heart with lust. We must beware also of the slanderers mouth, and backbiters tongue, whose lying reports and malicious tales, if they get in, would sow in thine heart the seed of heart-burning spight, and mental murder, which in that sinfull soil will fructifie very rankly: And think them no small sins, which makes thee guilty of innocent blood; for thine heart and tongue may kill thy brother, as well as thy hand.

Secondly, as those who keep and defend a City, make much of such as are faithful, trusty and serviceable, and if any such come, will entertain and welcome them with much kindeness; but a Traytor, or one of the enemies party, they presently

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cut short as soon as they discover him : so must we make exceedingly much of all good motions put into our hearts by Gods Spirit, howsoever occasioned, whether by the Word of God, mindefulness of death, good Admonition, some speciall crosse or extraordinary mercy, any way at any time : These are our hearts friends, we must cherish, exercise and practise. But on the contrary, we must resist and crush every exorbitant thought, which draws to sin at the first rising : It is most safe, saith S. *Austin*, *Epist. 142.* for the soul to accustome it self to discern of its thoughts, & *ad primum animi motum, vel probare, vel reprobare, quid cogitat, ut vel bonas cogitationes alat, vel statim extinguat malas.*

Lastly, let him that will indeed guard his heart as it should be, take heed of friendly and familiar converse with lewd, prophane and ungracious company : There is a strange attraction in ill company to poison and pervert even the best dispositions. *He that toucheth pitch* (saith *Solomon*) *shall be defiled therewith.* Can a man take fire in his bosome and his clothes not be burnt ? For believe it, when a man is accustomed once, and wonted to behold lewd and ungodly behaviour, there steals upon him insensibly, First, a dislike of sober courses, next a pleasing approbation of the contrary, and so presently an habitual change of affections and demeanour, into the manners and conditions of our companions. It is a point that many will not believe, but few or none did ever try, but to their cost. It was wise counsel, had it not been in a sinful business,

ness, which *Jeroboam* advised; *If this people* (saith he) *go up to sacrifice at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again to their lord, even to Rehoboam king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah: O that some men would be as wise for their good, as he was for his sin!*

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Having finished the first part of my Text, the Admonition, *Keep thy heart with all diligence, or above all keeping*: Now I proceed to the Motive, *For out of it are the issues of life*; that is, all spiritual life, and living actions issue from thence. All living devotion, all living service and worship of God, issues from the heart, from those cleansed and loyal affections, and dispositions of the soul and inward man, whereof I spake before. Where such a heart is not the fountain, there no action to God-ward liveth, but is spiritually dead, how gay and gloriously it may outwardly seem. No outward performance whatsoever, be it never so conformable and like unto a godly mans action, yet if it be not rooted in the heart, inwardly sanctified, it is no issue of spiritual life, nor acceptable with God. Even as statues and puppets, do move their eyes, their hands, their feet, like unto living men, yet are they not living actions, because they come not from an inward soul, the fountain of life, but from the artificial poise of weights, and device of wheels set by the workman: So is it here with heartless actions, they are like the actions of true Christians, but not Christian actions, because they issue not from a heart sanctified with purity and

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loyalty

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loyalty in the presence of God, who tries the heart and reins, but from the poise of vain-glory; from the wheel of some external respects and advantages, from a rotten heart, which wrought not for the love of God, but for the praise of men: As therefore we judge of the state of natural life, by the pulse and beating of the heart; so must we do of spiritual. No member of the body performs any action of natural life, wherein a pulse derived from the heart, beats not: So is it in the spiritual man, and the actions of Grace that lives not, which some gracious and affectionate influence from the heart quickens not.

Now this issuing of our works and actions from the heart, is that which is called *sincerity and truth*, so much commanded unto us in Scripture; for this sincerity and truth which is said to be in the works and actions of all such as fear and serve the Lord with acceptance, is nothing else but an agreement of the outward work seen of men, with the inward and suitable affection and meaning of the heart, which God and our selves alone are privy to. For as our words and speeches have truth in them, when we speak as we think; so our works and actions are done in sincerity and truth, when they are done according to our hearts affection: Sincerity therefore and truth, is the life of all our works of devotion and obedience unto God; without this they are nothing but a carcase, they are dead, they live not, neither doth God accept them: For, *he desireth truth in the inward parts*, Psal. 51. 6. that is, truth, which proceedeth and issueth from the

the inward parts. *The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, that call upon him in truth, Psa. 145. 18. For God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth, Joh. 4. 24. Whatsoever ye do, saith S. Paul. Col 3. 23. do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men. Our faith must be unfeigned, 1 Tim. 1. 4. that is, in truth and in sincerity. Also our love must not be in speech and tongue onely, but in deed and truth, 1 Joh. 3. 18. And this is the highest perfection attainable in this life, for which God accepteth of our obedience as perfect, which springeth from it, though it be stained with much corruption, and full of imperfection; that which is wanting in the measure of obedience and holiness, is made up in the truth and sincerity thereof: If it have not this, whatsoever it be, it is good for nothing, because it wants the issue of life.*

And such actions are all the actions of hypocrites, for hypocrisie is the contrary to sincerity, & where soever sincerity and truth is not, there hypocrisie is; being nothing else but a counterfeiting and falsehood of our actions, when they come not from a heart suitably affected: and therefore is otherwise in Scripture understood by the name of *guile*, when those who serve God in sincerity and truth, are said to be *without guile*, that is, without hypocrisie: So *Nathanael*, Joh. 1. is called an *Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile*. And of the virgin Saints, *Rev. 14.* it is said, that *in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the Throne of God*; that is, they served God without hypocrisie, in sincerity and truth, and therefore God accepted

Prov. 4. 23.

cepted of their obedience, as if it were without fault and imperfection; as he is wont to do the works of those who serve him in that manner. If therefore Sincerity be the life of our obedience, and that which makes it gracefull in the eyes of God: then is hypocrisie the death thereof, which makes him loath and abhor it as a stinking carcase.

Hitherto have I spoken of the influence of life into a Christians actions in generall; but as in naturall life, so in spirituall, are many branches, as the words of my Text imply; speaking not singularly of one issue, but plurally of many *issues of life*. For that which lives, exerciseth many living acts, as so many streams flowing from the fountain of life; none of which belong unto that which liveth not. These issues in nature are five: Health, Nourishment, Growth, Sense, and Motion: and the heart is the fountain of them all; without it they are not, they cannot be; but as it fareth, so fare they all: the like unto these are to be found in our spirituall life, of which I will speak somewhat in speciall, the rather because every of them are as so many motives to invite us to the attainment of this life to Godward; by serving him in sincerity and truth.

The first Issue of spirituall life, flowing from the heart, is spirituall *Health*: For, the curing of our souls of their spirituall diseases, must begin at the heart, and the inward causes of corruption must thence be purged, before there can be any true reformation or sound health in the outward parts: Even as the heat of the face is not much abated by casting water and cooling things upon it, but by allay-

allaying inwardly the heat of the liver. Again, that which seems to spring and flourish in our lives, unlesse it be rooted in the heart, will wither and die. The Fig-tree, that onely made a show with leaves, having no fruit, in the end, being cursed, lost the leaves too, wherewith it deceived our Saviour. So the Seed which sprouted upon the stony ground, is said to have withered, because it had no root: And if an Apple seem never so beautifull, yet if it be rotten at the core, it will quickly putrefie.

The second issue of spirituall life, is spirituall *Nutrition*, whereby the soul continually feeds upon Christ, in his Word and Sacraments. But this is in none whose works and actions issue not from the heart by sincerity and truth. For where hunger and thirst is not, the body is not nourished: He must have a stomach to his meat, that will have good by it; chewing in his mouth will not do it, though he swallow it, if his stomach be against it, he will vomit it up again. And can this spirituall hunger and spirituall thirst be where the inward man is not sanctified? Can he have a spirituall stomach, whose heart is not cleansed?

The third issue of spirituall life, is spiritual *Growth*. It is Gods wont to reward the sincerity of a little grace, with abundance of great graces; *Nathanael*, a man of no great knowledge, yet being a true *Israelite*, void of guile, is further enlightened by our Saviour, who gives him a sight of the true *Messiah*, indues him with true faith, and promiseth him still greater matters. A weak and divine knowledge had the *Eunuch* and *Cornelius* in the mysterie of godlinessse:

Prov. 4. 23.

ness: yet because they worshipped God sincerely, an Evangelist was sent to the one, and an Angell, an Apostle to the other, to give them clearer light of the Gospel, and a fuller largesse of spirituall gifts. The curse of God is upon hypocrisie, to destroy a great deale, a great stock of grace, but his blessing is upon sincerity, to improve a little portion to a greater measure. A little spring is better then a great pond; for in sommer, when ponds are dried up, little springs will still hold out.

The fourth issue of spirituall life is spirituall *Sense*, the fear and feeling of the favour of God: This no man shall ever finde, who lives not the life of sincerity. For this is the most sound and undeceivable evidence of our portion and interest in the power and purity of Christs saving passion and sanctifying bloodshed.

The fifth issue of spirituall life, is spirituall *Motion*, such I call alacrity and courage; sincerity is the cause of these; It makes us cheerfull in all duties of service and obedience unto God; It makes us valiant and courageous in all dangers, trials, and temptations, begetting in us a true generous and heroicall spirit. *The wicked* (saith Solomon, Prov. 28.) *fleeeth when no man pursueth, but the righteous are bold as a Lion.*

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ISA. 55. 7.

Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

I Will not speak of the coherence of these words, for they are an entire sense of themselves, and contain in them two parts: First, the conversion of a sinner. Secondly, the condition of one so converted. The Conversion of a sinner is exprest in three degrees; in the *forsaking of wicked waies*; in the *forsaking of evil thoughts*; and lastly, in *returning again unto the Lord. Let the wicked, &c. and let him return to the Lord.* The condition or state wherein he stands who hath done all this, is no state of Merit, but of Mercy; no not so much as a little merit, but even *abundant mercy*. If the Lord after all this accepts him, it is because *he will have mercy upon him*: if our God forgive, he doth even *abundantly pardon*.

I begin with the first of these; which is the Conversion of a sinner, which is (as I have said) laid down in three degrees or steps, the later alwaies excelling the former; even as in the Temple of *Solomon*, he that would approach the Mercy-seat of God, must ascend through three parts of the Temple,

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ple, the Court, the holy Place, and the holy of holies: so must he that will attain this condition of Mercy, mount these three steps of Repentance, that he may enter that glorious Sanctuary, which is *not made with hands*, where the God that shews mercy unto thousands, lives for ever and ever.

The first two of these forementioned degrees, to forsake a wicked way, to rid the heart of evil thoughts, lest they seem but one thing expressed in many words, I must handle both together, that by comparing, I may the better distinguish them.

As for the later therefore of these words, they have no great difficulty, and therefore will not need much explication; but the former (*Let a wicked man forsake his way*) the metaphor of *way* causeth some obscurity, which I think is thus to be unfolded. Every *way* implies a *walking*, a *way* being that wherein men use to *walk*; In whatsoever sense therefore the metaphor of *walking* is taken elsewhere in Scripture, in the same is *way* taken here. But to *walk*, in Scripture, seems in a speciall and proper sense to signify the outward life and conversation of man; for as in the naturall man, the act of progression, or moving to and fro, is the most externall act of all others, and the most obvious to the sense of every man: so in a man spiritually considered, his *way* or *walking* should be the outward actions in his life, which are or may be seen of others. And as in the naturall man, his moving to or fro is the execution of the hidden intendments of his fancy; so in a man spiritually considered, to *walk*, is to put in execution outwardly, what the heart conceives inwardly.

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I will not deny but this phrase of *walking*, or treading out a *way*, is in Scripture sometimes taken more largely, for the whole course of our life whatsoever; but here the *Antithesis* of the words following, *viz. evil thoughts*, do manifestly imply that the former, *viz. a wicked mans way*, is to be taken for an evil Conversation, in the sense I have spoken: So in the first Psalm, *Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsell of the ungodly*; The collation of *walking* with *ungodly counsell*, may warrant the like expression, that the *counsell of the ungodly* should signifie evil thoughts and purposes, *walking* in these counsels, the practise and execution of them.

Moreover, if I did delight in such subtilties, I might confirm the Exposition by the word here used for a wicked man *נור*, which signifies properly *Πονηρός*, a laborious sinner, a practitioner in sin; the verb *נור*, signifying to make a stir, to be exceeding busie, unquiet, or troublesome; whence some do expound that *Eccles. 7. אל הרשע*, *be not too wicked*, for *be not too busie*, or too stirring, Keep not too great a coyle, namely, in things of this world. Semblably here, *Let the wicked man forsake his way*, is, let him that bestirs himself in the execution of sinfull counsels, leave his busie practise: and in the next place, he that hath but *evil thoughts*, or bad desires, purge his heart of them also: Let the man who walks wickedly in his outward conversation, forsake his evil way: This is the first step of a Convert; but more then this, let him that hath an evil heart, though his actions seem outwardly blamelesse, banish even all his evil thoughts and cogitations; and this

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this is the second degree of a sinners conversion.

This Exposition therefore being taken for a ground, now I come to the observations I collect from hence. The first observation I gather, is common to both these degrees of a sinners conversion; and that is from the word (*forsake*) for to *forsake* is an Emphaticall word; to *forsake sin* is more then a bare refraining from sin, or a withdrawing a mans self from doing wickedness; To *forsake sin* is to give over all acquaintance, all dealing with sin, or to forsake it altogether; for as a man that refrains a friends company, is not by and by said to forsake him; no more can he that onely refrains from sin, be said to forsake sin.

Hence therefore we learn, that whosoever retains any one darling sin, is no forsaker of sin, though he refrain from all other, for this is not to break off all acquaintance with sin, but rather to make choice of his sin, to choose what sin he will use, and what sin he will refuse. Thus did *Herod* in the Gospell, he reformed many things at the preaching of *John Baptist*, but still he kept *Herodias* his brother *Philips* wife, *Mark* 6. 19, 20. But we must know that he that keeps any one sin hath forsaken none, so saith *St. James*, c. 2. v. 10. *he that breaketh one Commandment, is guilty of all.* God must have our whole heart or none, he will not be served by halves, for that were to say as *David* said to *Mephiboseth*, 1 *Sam.* 19. concerning his lands, *Thou and Ziba divide the lands*: So we; God and the devill his slave, divide our hearts between them.

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all the other parts of a City walls, if any one part be left open, for the enemy to enter? or what is a ship the safer, though all other parts be strong and sound, if but one leaking hole be unstopped? will not this sink the whole ship be it never so sound? even just so will it be with us, if we leave any one place in our soul for any one sin to enter. Do we not know that a little crack in one place of a bell, marres the sound as well as if it were crackt clean through? So will any one crack of sin marre the musick of our souls in the cares of the Almighty. Do we not know that the laying but a finger upon the edge of a thing which giveth sound, damps the sound as well as the whole hand? Even so if the devill lay but one finger upon our heart, he damps all our actions of devotion, and makes them give but a dead sound in the hearing of the Lord of heaven. How true this is, I appeal unto every mans conscience that will consider it seriously, whether he findes not in his own experience, that the cherishing of any one sin makes him not dead-hearted toward God, dull and heavy in all works of devotion.

Thus much of this generall observation: Next I proceed to particular observations deducible from the several parts; The first whereof is, *the forsaking of wicked wayes*, which I expounded in this place, the forsaking of sin in our outward walking and conversation before men; If this therefore be the first degree of conversion, then may we learn, that those who want this, have not gone the first step of a new life: Indeed in the eyes of God, who sees that which no body else can see, no man appeareth

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blamelesse or free from sin, but that those who are entred the way of a new and holy life, should walk so, that men may not accuse them of open crimes; this I say, is required of every true convert: So it is said of *Zachary and Elizabeth, Luke 1.* that *they walked in the Commandments of God blamelesse*; yea many heathen men have come thus farre, that men could not accuse them, and yet they perished everlastingly.

Let no man therefore deceive or flatter himselfe, those who fall into open and grievous sins, are not yet in the state of a true convert sinner. *If any man (saith St. James 1. 26.) seem to be religious, and bridle not his tongue, he deceiveth his own heart; his religion is in vain*: what *St. James* saith of wicked speakers, may be said of wicked doers: If any man who is a drunkard, an extortioner, or falls into any such open sins; if he seem religious, he deceiveth his own heart; his Religion is in vain. Remember therefore what *Christ* saith in the Gospell, and *let your light so shine before men, that they seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven.*

Secondly, if a Reformed conversation before men be required of every true convert, then are they deceived who think it sufficient, if they keep their hearts to God, though they apply their outward and bodily actions unto mens liking: No matter they think what their speeches, and gesture, and their outward seeming be, so that in their hearts they condemn and abhorre such sinfull actions, as outwardly they seem to approve. This is the opinion of too too many: But let us hear what our Saviour *Christ* saith, *He that denyeth me before men; him will*

will I deny before my Father which is in heaven. Would any man excuse his wives adultery, though she should say never so often, she kept her heart and love only unto him? No more will Christ excuse us, when we yeeld our outward man to wickednesse, though we say we keep our hearts intire to him. Christ suffered not only in soul, but also in body, that he might redeem us both body and soul from everlasting destruction: And shall not we glorify him with both? yes verily; and since God hath given us both a body and soul, it becomes us as S^t. Paul saith, 2 Cor. 7. 1. *to cleanse our selves from all filthinesse of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holinesse in the fear of God.*

Having spoken sufficiently of the first, I proceed now unto the second degree of Repentance, which is contained in these words, *forsaking of evill thoughts*: whence first I observe, That concupiscence, or the evill dispositions and motions of our hearts, are sins before God, though we never consent to put them in execution. For this is the style of the Holy Ghost in my Text, not only to call the bad liver a *wicked man*, but the owner too of evill motions, *unrighteous*. If we seek for a law whereof they are a breach, It is the last Commandement of the Decalogue, which prohibits all irregularity of our desires and thoughts whatsoever. *Non concupisces*, thou shalt not so much as *covet* any thing amisse; if thou dost, it will be sin: The naturall man could not know thus much, S^t. Paul himselfe confessing that *he had never known concupiscence to be sin, had not the law said, Non concupisces*: Concupiscence he calls not the faculty or nature of the act it selfe, but the *Anomaly*

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of the Act; not the desire onely, but every motion of the heart, not agreeable to the will of God, and that from the Style of this Commandement, *Non concupiscēs*. If any shall say that the inward motions of our mind are involuntary, and past the command of the will, and therefore not sinfull: I answer, *Ab initio non fuit sic*, It was not so from the beginning: we procured this evill unto our selves in the sin of our first parents, and therefore the fault is our own: Secondly, it is not necessary that whatsoever is sin should be under the mastery of our will, for so originall sin should be none. But this is necessary, that all should in some sort belong unto the will, and so do our desires, affections, and all other motions (as we call them) of the mind. If any shall further adde, that the Apostle *James*, 1. 15. saith of concupiscence, that *it bringeth forth sin*, and therefore it selfe not like to be sin, the cause being alwayes diverse from the effect: I answer, the Apostle saith not, it is the cause of sin simply, or all sin, but only of outward sins, or sins of fact; and howsoever, this reason is so farre from proving concupiscence not to be sin, that it argueth the meer contrary, for that so bad an off-spring as sin, cannot find a more naturall parent then sin it self.

The serious consideration hereof should be a cooling to the pride of our nature, and a strong motive to humility in the esteeming of our selves, and our best actions: Alas, what are we that any good work we do should make us so highly conceit of our selves! Let us examin our inward thoughts, our hopes, our fears, our byrespects, our vainglory, the whole Regiment of

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concupiscence, and it will make us even ashamed to think what we have done, howsoever that which is seen outwardly, be blamelesse and glorious in the sight of men: If the Peacocks wings of a laudable work, or the gay feathers of seeming worth do make thee swell; do but cast thine eyes a little upon the legges wheteon thou standest, upon the footpost whereon thou hast reared thy work so glorious without, and then thou wilt cast down thy high looks, and cry with S^r. Paul, *Rom. 7.* Lord whatsoever men see without me, I know *there dwelleth no good thing within me.*

The second thing I observe from hence; is the priviledge the law of God hath above the lawes of men: It is true, that in the lawes of men, thoughts are free, but with Gods law it is not so. Mens lawes are not broken, though only the outward man observe and keep them; but Gods lawes are broken, if the inward man alone transgresse them, be the outward man, (I mean, a man in outward conversation) never so conformable. And this is our meaning when we say that the law of God onely doth bind the conscience, meaning the inward actions of the soul and spirit, those actions which onely God and our conscience are privy unto: But the lawes of men do bind onely the outward man, that is, the performance of outward actions, whereof men either do, or may take notice.

Which that we may the better understand, we must know, that lawes are said to binde in two regards, first, in commanding the doing of some actions, which else were at our choise; and secondly,

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in making lyable to an agreeable punishment if it be transgressed : Now whosoever commandeth , must be Lord of what he commandeth , whosoever maketh liable to punishment , must both be able to take notice of the fault , and of power to inflict the punishment : Seeing then God alone is Lord of the soul and spirit , he alone can bind them by Commandement : Seeing God alone can take notice of the sins of the heart , and is onely able to inflict the punishment , namely , everlasting death and damnation , the proper punishment which the conscience feareth , he alone may command upon pain of eternall damnation : Mans law therefore in this sense which I have spoken , binds not the conscience or inward man , because no man is Lord of anothers conscience , nor can take notice of the actions thereof ; nor yet hath in his power to inflict the punishment which it onely feareth.

In one word , conceive it thus , the actions whereunto the conscience alone is privie , are not the object of the lawes of man , but onely such actions as fall within the notice of men . And yet this is also true , though the lawes of men do not bind the conscience , yet a man is bound in conscience to obey the lawes of men , but this bond is from the law of God , which commands us to use futable affections in obeying the lawes of men : *Obey every Ordinance of men* , not for fear of punishment , but for *conscience sake* . If now we did truly acknowledge this prerogative of the lawes of God , we would witnesse the same by our extraordinary care in keeping them , in an extraordinary fear of breaking them . But what do

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do we? even the clean contrary; we fear man more then God, those that can but kill the body, above him that hath power to cast both body and soul into hell fire: Who would not be loth to break a Kings lawes in a Kings sight? yet for Gods Lawes who fears, though our most secret thoughts be alwayes in his sight? In the outward work which men see, we are carefull to restrain our hands and tongues from slipping, lest mans law might take hold of us; but the thoughts of our heart we let run at random, and never once curb them: what is this but to account the lawes of God as cobwebs, the lawes of men as chains of Iron: or openly to professe that of men we have some little fear, where they command with God, but whereof God commands alone, no fear at all? Even as those wicked ones whereof David speaks in the 94. Psalm, v. 7. who say, *The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it. But he that planted the ear, saith David, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know? (yes) the Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, &c.* Who then art thou (to use the words of Esay) that art afraid of man who shall die, and of the son of man who shall be as the grasse, and forgettest the Lord who made thee, who stretched out the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth?

The last thing I mean to observe from these two first degrees of a sinners conversion is, wherein the life of a true convert doth exceed the works both of the heathen, and the hypocrite; Glorious things are spoken of *Aristides*, of *Scipio*, of *Socrates*. But their

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best works are but like unto counterfeit coyn, the outside glistering with gold, but the inside lead, or worse metall; their hands, their feet, their walk like the gate of an *Israelite*, but their heart was uncircumcised like the heart of a *Philistim*, for they wanted the purity of the heart seasoned with the love of God, they wanted these cleansed thoughts, these holy affections, and therefore were their best works no better then glorious sins: Even as statues and puppets do move their eyes, their hands, their feet, like unto living men, and yet are not living actors, because they come not from an inward soul, the fountain of life, but from the artificiall-poyse of weights when set by the workmen; even such were the vertues of the heathens, very puppet playes, like unto the actions of Christian men, but not Christian actions; because they came not from a pure heart, which gives life unto a Christian, but from the poyse of vain glory, from the wheels of corrupt affections, from a rotten heart, which wrought not for the love of God, but for the promise of men.

And no better are the works of hypocrites, nay worse; for they knew not that the heart was to be cleansed, or how it should be cleansed: but these know that God requires the heart, and yet their works are nothing but shewes unto men: Such were the Pharisees, of whom Christ speaks, *Mat. 23. 27.* *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye are like unto white sepulchers, which indeed appear beautifull outward, but are within full of dead mens bones, and of all uncleannesse; even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisie,*
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and iniquity; and v. 25. *ye make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within ye are full of extortion and excess;* But if we are loth (as who would not?) to share our portion with the Gentiles, or to have our lot fall with the hypocrites, let our *righteousnesse* then exceed the *righteousnesse* of the Scribes and Pharisees; Let us remember that God challenges the heart and inward man, as his peculiar due, let us not therefore onely forsake the walk, and externall gate of wickednesse, but even bad thoughts and evill motions, with all the occasions of them: Let us (I say) with Solomon, Prov. 4. 23. *Keep our heart above all keeping, for out of it are the issues of life:* But the joy of the hypocrite, saith Zophar, Job 20 *is but for a moment, though his excellency mount up unto the heavens, and his hand reach unto the clouds, yet shall he perish for ever like his own dung.*

Having spoken of the two first degrees of Repentance, I come now to the third, which is *Returning unto God.* It is not enough to forsake the works of wickednesse, or the heart to forgoe the thoughts of unrighteousnesse, but this is more required of a sinner, that he should *return unto the Lord:* he that hath gone out of the way, and knowes it, will not onely make a stop and go no farther in the wrong way, but if he means to arrive at the place he desireth, will seek the new and right way and follow it; for he that standeth still shall never come at his journeyes end: even so must every sinner do in his journey of Repentance. The putting off the old man we heard before, now come we to the putting on of the new: In the two former steps we had *eschewing of evill*, in this

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this we have *doing of good*; without this the other is altogether vain: that tree is not called a good tree which bringeth forth no ill fruit, but that is a *good tree which bringeth forth good fruit*, and every tree that *bringeth forth no fruit*, shall be hewen down and cast into the fire.

But for the better understanding of this, we will consider two things proper to a man that *returneth*, First, to go a way clean contrary to the way he went before. Secondly, to out-tread and obliterate his former steps. Both of these every one must perform, who truly returns unto God by Repentance; I say first he must go a way clean contrary to his former way; many men think that the way to hell is but a little out of the way to heaven, so that a man in a small time with small adoe, may crosse out of the one into the other, but they are much deceived, for as sin is more then a stepping aside, viz. a plain and direct going away from God; so is repentance or the forsaking of sin, more then a little coasting out of one way into another; crossing will not serve, there is no way in the world to come to the place we seek, but to go quite back again the way we came.

The way of pleasure in sin must be changed for an extreme sorrow for the same; he that hath superstitiously worshipped false Gods, must now as devoutly serve the true; the tongue that hath uttered swearings, and spoken blasphemies, must as plentifully sound forth the name of God in prayer and thanksgiving; the covetous man must become liberall; the oppressor of the poor as charitable in relieving them; the calumniator of his brother, a tender re-
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pairer of his credit: In fine, he that hated his brother before, must now love him as tenderly as himselfe.

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What traveller is there that knoweth himselfe to be in a contrary way, and admonished, that he must go back again, would not return speedily? who but a fool would not consider that the longer he went forward, the further he had to go back again? the sooner he returned, the easier would be his retreat, the longer he went forward, the more hard and difficult? why, this is the case of every sinner, every step he takes, the further he is from God: How painfull then and tedious will that return be, which is not speedily undertaken? nay, when looking back we shall behold the infinite distance between God and us, how can our heart almost but faile us, and despaire utterly, that so long a way can ever be accomplished? *The Stork in the heavens knoweth his appointed time. Jer. 8. 7. The Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow observe the time of their coming*: let the wise man be ashamed that knows not, the sinner that considers not the time of his Return.

The second thing proper to a mans returning is, to obliterate and tread out his former footing. This is also required of every truly repentant sinner, that wheresoever any footing remains of his former works, he should tread them out, for a repentant sinner must return by a line in the very path and track of his sins. Now some sins do vanish in the act, and so leave no print behind them, and such because they perish in the doing, remain not to be undone by repentance. But other sinnes there are which

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which passe not away in the very doing, but leave as it were a footing behind them; I mean the work of the sin remains when the act is past, and these works are to be undone in repentance: of this sort are sins most what against the eight Commandement, Robbery, Cousenage, all ill gotten and ill withholden goods; for in these, Restitution is as it were the recalling, undoing, and treading out the mark of the sin committed: he that hath taken a mans purse, may give it him again, but he that hath blasphemed, cannot recall his blasphemy, nor the refractory, his former disobedience; he that hath taken his brothers life, cannot give it him again, nor he that hath defamed him, undoe the word he hath spoken; in these and such like, restitution hath no place; but onely God forgive me, and doing the contrary hereafter: But in Robbery, Bribery, Cousenage, and all ill gotten goods, the goods we have taken from our neighbour, remaining in our hand and power, there is no repentance, no forgivenesse, no returning, without restoring what we have thus gotten.

Upon this I will dwell a while, because I verily think that many men do not beleieve it, but think it enough to cry God mercy, but as for restoring of ought, he must pardon them. Surely *Zachew* the Publican had never learned this evasion, who to make good his repentance, gave halfe his goods unto the poor, and promised fourfold restitution of what he had gotten from any man wrongfully. But if we will live by lawes and not by examples, hear the expresse law of God *Levit. 6.* where the Lord thus speaks unto *Moses*: *If a soul sin in fellowship or dealing, or in a thing*

thing taken away by violence, or hath deceived his neighbour, &c. or hath found that which was lost, and lyeth concerning it, &c. Then it shall be because he hath sinned and is guilty, he shall restore what he hath taken violently, or the thing that he hath gotten deceitfully, &c. he shall even restore the principall, and adde the fifth part more thereunto, in the day of his trespass-offering. The day of our trespass-offering who are Christians, is the day wherein we offer Christ unto his Father by a lively faith, for atonement for our sin; The day of our repentance or our turning to God: If the Jewes sacrifice could not be accepted without thus doing, no more shall a Christians repentance.

Neither will it be enough to confesse our sins and cry God mercy as we say, for *Numb. 5.* where this same law is repeated; *Those, saith the Lord, which have thus sinned shall confesse their sins which they have done, and yet recompense his Trespasse too with the principall thereof, &c.* yea so rigid is the Lord in exacting this, that if the man himselfe who was thus wronged, were dead, and had no kinsman living, yet the party offending was not so excused, but was to make a recompense unto the Lord himselfe, by giving it to his Priest, as ye may see in the same place.

Hence it is that the Lord, *Ezekiel 33. 14, 15.* maketh restoring a main part of Repentance or returning unto him: *If the wicked (saith he) turn from his sin, and do what is lawfull and right, if he restore the pledge, give again what he hath robbed, then he shall surely live, he shall not die; If he will not do this, it is easie to imagine what will follow, namely, that he shall surely die and not live.*

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But thou wilt say, I am not able to make restitution; Why then shew thy selfe willing unto thy power, for in this case God accepts the will for the deed: but take heed thou dissemble not with him that knowes the most inward thoughts, for he it is that tryeth the heart and reines, and nothing can be hid from him; upon perill therefore of thy salvation, deal truly with him that made thee; for he is not as man that thou shouldst mock him, or as the son of man that he should be deceived.

But thou wilt say, I cannot do it, unlesse I leave my wife and children to beggery: Alas, wilt thou venture thy own soul, and perish eternally, to save thy house from beggery? I must say unto thee, as Peter said to Simon Magus, *Acs 8. Thou hast neither part nor lot in the life to come, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God, thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity*; thou preferrest the momentary glory of thy house, before the everlasting safety of thy selfe: Thou fool, *what will it profit thee to win the whole world and lose thy own soule?*

But I shall (thou wilt say) in so doing proclaim mine own shame to the world. What then? wouldst thou not be willing to undergo a greater penance then this for thy soules safety? or how comes it to passe thou art more loth that men should know thy shame, then God himselfe who made thee? Lord, how hard will it be for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven!

If men would think of this in their unjust dealing, if they would remember this who scrape unto themselves riches by unlawfull and ungodly means, if
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those who get by extortion, by coufening tricks of law, by bribery, by sacrilegious Simony, would think of this, me thinks it should make them pull back their hands: for what joy and pleasure can a man take in that gain, which he knowes he must one day foregoe as willingly, as now he desireth covetously? when he might thus say with himselfe, The time must come that I must wish from the bottome of my heart that this I now doe, had never been done, if ever I mean to find mercy at the hands of God; The time must one day come, that I must restore all this I have thus unlawfully gotten; yea, make recompense besides for the injury I have done, or else woe worth the time that ever I was born, and cursed be the night wherein I was conceived. If men would consider this, Alas, I shall never say unto God on my death-bed, I repent from the bottome of my heart, if I bequeath one jot of this I have thus gotten; I shall never say unto God, I wish from my soule this sin I have done were undone; if it were now to doe again, no motive in this world should make me do it: Alas, how can I say this, whiles it is in some sort in my power to undoe sin by restoring, if I will not? Surely he that had this in his mind, would think it would not quit the cost to attain any of this worlds goods unlawfully: But let them think as they will, as sure as God is true, without restitution repentance can never be true, and without true Repentance it is impossible to be saved.

The second part of my Text remains yet to be treated of, which is the condition and state he comes unto,

Isa. 55.7.

Isa. 55. 7.

unto, who hath done all this, and that (as ye hear) is a state of *mercy*, the repentant sinner is capable of the mercy of God to pardon and forgive his sin: *If the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous, &c. The Lord will have mercy on him, our God will abundantly pardon.*

The mercy of God is here (as you see) his loving kindnesse unto a sinner, to set him free from that evill he is lyable to through sin, and to restore unto him the good he hath lost thereby; that is, with commiseration of his misery to forgive him, and restore him to that blessednesse, which is in the favour of God: This *mercy*, or mercifulnesse of God is here exprest, first simply, in the words, *The Lord will have mercy on him*, and secondly, with a degree, *he will pardon abundantly.* Of these very briefly; And first of the first: If the forgivenesse of our sins, and the accepting of us into the everlasting favour of God, be a work of mercy, then not of any merit or deserving on our part, for these two cannot stand together: So saith *S. Paul, Tit. 3. v. 5. Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he hath saved us*: For if when we have done all wee can, wee are still the subjects of pity, it needs must be we are still in misery; for no man shewes pity or commiseration; but to those that are in a pitifull case; wheresoever mercy is shewn, the party ayleth something; but to be in case of merit, is no pitifull case; what can he ayle for his sin, to whom heaven is due for his merit? who need not be beholding to God for his kindnesse, but may challenge his justice? If this then be the manner

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ner of God to shew none unto those who deserve nothing at his hands, it is our parts to be like unto him: we are not in actions of charity, to look upon the merit, but the misery: the bestowing of alms is no paying of wages, or giving of rewards, but an act of holy pity. The like I might say of forgiving the offences of our brethren: If he repent him of the injury, thou art not to exact a merit of forgiveness, but let thy love be as ingenuous unto thy brother, as Gods was free unto thee.

The last thing to be considered, is the degree of Gods mercy in delivering us from our sins; It is no small favour, for he *pardoneth abundantly*: amongst all the works of God, his works of mercy toward mankind are in surpassing measure: hence it is that he proclaims himselfe by this, as by his principall style, *Exod. 34. 6. The Lord, The Lord God, mercifull, gracious, long-suffering*: which David expounds, *Psal. 103. v. 8. The Lord is mercifull and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy*: S. Paul describes him *Ephes. 2. 4. A God who is rich in mercy*. This may appear in the admirable way of our Redemption, in sending his own Son from heaven to suffer the ignominious death of the Crosse for our sake: *Even so God loved the world*, saith S. John, *that he gave his only begotten Son for the same*: This may appear by his patience and long-suffering in enduring sin. In the 64. of this book, *he spreadeth out his hands all the day long unto a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, yea, which provokes him to anger continually to his face*; Lastly, it may appear by that huge proportion wherein his mercy exceeds his vengeance,

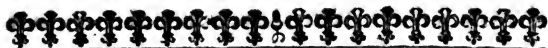
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Isa. 55. 7.

ance; he visits the sins of the Fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him: but sheweth mercy unto the thousand generation of those who love him, and keep his Commandments. This may serve for our consolation in the most grievous temptation about the greatnesse of our sin: The Lord is rich in mercy, and therefore he will forgive the most grievous sin, for the mercy of the Lord is greater then the sins of the whole world: This argument of comfort Moses bringeth in the fourth of Deut. Because the Lord thy God is a mercifull God, he will not forsake thee, nor destroy thee, nor forget the Covenant of thy Fathers, which he sware unto them.

I.S.A.



I S A. 2. V. 2, 3, 4.

And it shall come to pass in the last dayes, that the Mountain of the Lords House shall be established [or prepared] in the top of the Mountains, and exalted above the Hills; and all Nations shall flow unto it, &c.



Mountains, are States, Kingdoms or Societies of men, which consisting of degrees, rising unto a height one above another, are compared unto Mountains raised above the ordinary Plain and Level of the Earth.

The Mountain of the Lords House, is that State and Society of men, which is called the Church and People of God: *Regnum Calorum*, the Kingdom of Heaven, that is, a Kingdom, whose both King, and Kings Throne, have their residence and place in the Heavens.

These words therefore are a Prophecie, or propheticall Promise of the glorious exaltation, wonderful enlargement, and unheard-of prosperity of this society of men, called the *Church*, above all other States or Societies of men whatsoever.

The glory and exaltation is expressed in the words [*The Mountain of the Lords House shall be one day exalted*] yea mounted, not onely above the les-

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Isa. 2. 2, 3,
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fer Hills, but the highest Mountains, though at this time it were depressed, and trampled under foot by the proud enemies thereof.

The enlargement and ampleness thereof, in the words, *All Nations shall flow unto it*, that is, though, at the time of this Prophecy, it were reduced to a small remnant; yet the time was to come, when it should not onely consist of the one Nation of the Jews, as then it did, but of all Nations under the whole heaven.

The prosperity thereof, begins to be described from these words in the 4th verse, *They shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, &c.* that is, although the greatest part of *Jacob* were already captive, and *Judah* and *Jerusalem* in a continual fear, and no less danger of the arms and invasion of the King of *Babel*, yet the time should one day come, that the People or Church of God, should not onely be the most exalted State upon the earth, and the most ample and universal Dominion that ever was in the world; but the most peaceable, quiet, and flourishing State that ever was since man was first created.

This is the Prophecy. But now comes the question, Whether this, as we have described it, be and hath already been fulfilled? or whether the time thereof be yet to come? or if already any wayes fulfilled, whether it be not in part onely performed, and the full accomplishment reserved for the time to come?

Our Adversaries would fain finde here, the constant and perpetual visibilty of the Church. And I must

must needs grant them, that it is meant of a time when the Gentiles shall be called: for the words of the Text, *viz.* (*All Nations*) tell us so. But, without doubt, he that will have this place for his purpose, must shew us not onely a naked and single visibility, but more then that, a glorious visibility; yea, the most glorious among the sons of men. For, a visibility is one thing, and a glorious visibility is another: for many things are visible, which are not glorious to look upon, and oftentimes good and rich matter may be within, when the outside glisters not. We must therefore, when we talk of the Churches visibility, distinguish between these two, and not confound them. The Church might be visible, though it were but a Hill; much more, if it be a Mountain: but here it is to be established on the Tops of Mountains, and exalted above the Hills; so that no other State shall overtop, or overlook it, much less trample it under feet. Now whether there were ever yet such a time, when this was compleatly fulfilled, though all be granted our Adversaries they can ask, yea, and that the Romish Church, be that Church here spoken of, I leave it to any mans indifferent judgement, who can compare the description of the Prophet, with the stories of forepast and present Times.

But, suppose it were to be fulfilled, and fully accomplished in the times which have already been; and I will not deny but in part it hath been so: yet how doth it follow from this Prophecie, that this glorious visibility, should be constant and continual,

Isa. 2. 2, 3,

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tinual, and never interrupted or eclipsed?

Is not the Prophecie true, and hath not God made his Promise good, if he hath at any time performed the thing here spoken of, though it neither were done all at once, and though this exaltation and glory did not alway continue? If one skilful in Divination or Astrology, should meet with a private man, for the present in great want, distress, contempt and misery, and should tell him, That it was his fortune to rise to the greatest honours, and to become the greatest man that was in the Kingdom; if this fell out so at any time of his life, according as it was foretold him, though perhaps it proved not long durable (as such exaltations use not to be) had he any reason to say, that the Astrologer had lyed unto him, in that he had foretold him? I think, any man in reason will think him unjustly charged. Why then may not the like be said and thought of the Church, and (as I may so speak, with reverence) of the prediction of the Churches fortune? But, if the time of the full performance of this prediction be yet to be expected, as perhaps it is, then it will serve our Adversaries to far less purpose; for were not Joseph his dreams and visions true, that the Sun, Moon, and twelve Stars should worship him, and all his brothers sheaves should bow to his sheaf? was not this true (I say) though his brothers first sold him, though he became afterward a slave, and long a prisoner in a strange Land, before he was so suddenly exalted to be the great Viceroy under Pharaoh King of Egypt? Or would you have an Example of a glory afterwards eclipsed?

eclipsed, and almost extinguished? were not Gods first promises made to the Israelitish Nation, that he would make them a renowned kingdom, fully performed in the days of *Solomon*, when there was no kingdom upon the earth like unto it, for glory and magnificence, though this so great glory, not long lasted, but began a little to be obscure in the end of *Solomons* dayes, and afterwards was quite eclipsed and clouded, the Sun but now and then (as it were) shewing it selfe through a cloud? and what is the Church of the Gentiles, or what priviledge have they above the Church of the Jewes, that the like should not befall it, which we are sure befell them? and yet neverthelesse, God alwayes made good his promises unto them, and no word of his mouth fayled.

When we therefore talk of the Churches visibility, and glory, we must distinguish of times, and know, that there are times, when the Church is indeed visible, but not glorious. Secondly, times when it is neither visible nor glorious. Thirdly, times when it is to be both visible, and glorious.

In the times immediately after Christs passion, or if you will, at his passion; I think any man will grant, that it was then neither visible, nor glorious. In the times of the persecuting Emperors, when the Church had taken foot among the Gentiles, and the Nations began to flow unto it, it was a society indeed visible, but not glorious; I am sure, it was not *in the tops of the mountains*; but the Imperiall mountain of *Rome*, not onely overtopped it, but ever trampled it under their feet: for we must know

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Isa. 2. 2, 3, 4

visibility of the Church; as likewise know, what was the state of true believers, when this visibility was overshadowed, take this which followeth; *viz.*

That there hath been in all ages since Christ, without interruption, a company or society of Christian men, agreeing, or joyned together, in the inward and invisible communion of the faith, concerning such Divine Truths as we profess needful to Salvation. And, for so much of this Faith, as was not acknowledged by the rest of erring men, called *Christians*, in that respect, this society was a distinct society from them: yet nevertheless, for so much of this their true Faith, as was still acknowledged by those erring ones we speak of, they were a part of the same society with them: for, the Apostasie of the Church was not total, and therefore in all the same parts of their Faith, or true-believing society, neither was, nor is divided from them.

But, if the question be asked of a Visible Christian Society, professing the same essential Faith with us, Whether such a one hath alwayes been? First, we must know, that by *Visible Society*, in this question, is meant, *A society of Christian believers, joyned together in one external Communion, of the same publike profession, use of Sacraments, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction or Government:* for, these make the outward form, whereby this society is discernible from other societies of men, and a society, by this outside, severed and distinguished from other societies, is a society visible and conspicuous to other societies of men.

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The question therefore is, Whether that Society of men, agreeing together in the Points of our Christian Belief, hath been in all ages, in this kinde and sort, joyned and distinguished from other companies, not onely of the world, but even of Christian men? or, in shorter terms thus, Whether the Society of men of our Christian belief, hath in all ages been, for the outside, a distinct Corporation, from all other Societies and States of men?

My answer is, That for divers of the first ages, as before was shewed, it was in that manner visibly distinguished; but after an Apostasie had overspred, and deformed the beautiful Spouse of Christ, then was the society or belief, as it were, covered and involved with the same external mantle with them, and as it were hidden in that dark cloud, and so not a distinct external society from the rest: but though in the inward communion of the sincerer Faith it was diverse and distinguished, yet it still for the most part continued a member of the same external (I say, external) body with them, being begotten by the same Spirit, and taught, in some part, by the same teachers, still continuing to the same Judgment, as these or others remaining in the same Doctrine or with their first Communion, patiently suffering the hands of

For understanding this, take this Simile: When good gold is mixed with a greater quantity of counterfeit metal, so that of both becomes one mass or lump, though each metal still retains and keeps his nature diverse from the other, yet can they not outwardly be discerned asunder by the eye, for because they are incorporated into one external body, the outside or visible dimensions which are seen, are one and the same: But when the Refiner comes and severs them, then will each metal appear in his own outside, and his own proper colours, whereby they are easily discerned asunder one from the other. Such must the state of the Church needs be, when an Apostasie shall rise out of the bowels thereof; and such do we affirm was the state of the Church of Christ in that great prevailing Apostasie, from which we are separated, *viz.* The purer metal of the Christian body, was not outwardly discernible from the base and counterfeit, whiles one outside covered them both. But when the time of refining came, then was our Church not first founded (as some good forbid:) but a purer metal refined from the base: as gold refined from the dross, though it began to be refined when the Church began to be refined, though then it was not so pure. That which beset the Church in that Apostasie? was the *sed: their knees to* the rest of the

Isa. 2. 2, 3,

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And is this any thing more then that which befel the Jewish Church in her frequent Apostasie? was the seven thousand that had not bowed their knees to Baal, a visibly distinguished society from the rest of the

Isa. 2. 2, 3,
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*Iſa. 2. 2, 3,
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conceits of Antichrist, ſhal eaſily find this to be true; for they hold, that the then publick exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, ſaying of Maſs, and all ſhall utterly ceaſe, until Antichriſts dayes be out: this is their Tenet. We on the contrary hold this clouding of the Churches viſibilty to have been already, and the greateſt glory (in probability) or at leaſt ſome part thereof, to be yet to come. So that we both agree, That in the great Apoſtaſie, the Churches viſibilty and glory ſhould ceaſe; but we ſay, that this Apoſtatical time hath been already; they ſay, it is yet to come: we ſay, that that time was to laſt many ages; they ſay, that when it comes, it ſhall be but three ſingle years and a half.

Why then are they not aſhamed to choke us with this Argument of the Churches viſibilty and glory, as though the Church could never be without it, when yet themſelves confeſs, That there is a time to come, when the caſe will be ſuch, that the ſame Argument may be alleaged againſt the true Church, though it were theirs, as is now alleaged againſt ours? This is too great partiality.

Seeing therefore the whole Controverſie lies in this, Whether the Churches great Apoſtaſie be already paſt, and in being, or yet to come? It is a great deal the quicker courſe for them and us to examine the condition and quality of both Religions by the Scriptures, and not to diſtract our ſelves with every point of difference; for every Error is not a part of this Apoſtaſie: but let us examine our Religion in that point alone, wherein the Scripture it ſelf placeth and limits the quality of this Apo-

[A. 2. 2, 3, 4]

Apostasie, namely, that it should be Spiritual Fornication or Idolatry; for *Babylon* is not called the Lier of *Babylon*, the Tyrant of *Babylon*, the Heretick of *Babylon*, the Murtherer of *Babylon*, but the Whore of *Babylon*: It is very like indeed, that as whores have commonly many other foul qualities, so may the Spiritual Whore have also. Yet as every ill quality of a whore is not a part of her whoredome, no more is every Error of the Spiritual Whore, how gross soever, a part of Spiritual Fornication: Let us therefore examine her by the mark which God sets upon her, and by that Abomination, for which onely in a manner (if we observe the Scripture) God did use to punish, and wrathfully complain of his old people *Israel*, though (no doubt) they had many other corruptions beside; but had they been faithful in that one, God could have winked at many other. As we know a husband, if his wife be faithful and true to him in that point which so nearly toucheth his jealousy, he will the easier bear with other shrewish conditions.

Now if the Church of *Rome* be not an Idolatress, or a Spiritual Whore, prostituting her self to other gods, to stocks and stones, and many wayes breaking her Faith to her one Lord and Mediator Christ Jesus, by committing fornication with (I know not how many) other Mediators, there never was a whore in the world.

And certainly, if the Church of *Rome* may herein be justified, the Church of *Israel* had but hard measure to be condemned, who could as truly plead that

that she never forsook the true God altogether, only she would worship him in calves and such Images as other her Neighbor Nations used to do; and that though she was for variety, yet she reserved the chief place for her *Jehovah*; and in all other respects, could as well as the present *Roman Church*, excuse her practise in that kinde. And yet we know how she is branded by the Prophets for a Whore; and not a simple fornicating whore, but an *Adulteress*, and is threatned to be proceeded with, and judged as those that break wedlock and shed blood are judged, to have blood given her in fury and jealousie: And such an example of Gods fury and jealousie, hath he made them to all the world, as no other people (how great soever their Idolatries) have ever equall'd, or come near their sufferings.

And thus farre we have in a manner yielded to our Adversaries for a time, that the time of fulfilling this Prophecy hath already been, for we would deny them no favor willingly, which we could lawfully yield them: Nevertheless I verily believe, that this Prophecy hath never yet received his full accomplishment, nor is to do, *Untill*, as *S. Paul* saith, *Rom. 11. 25. the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved.*

For we shall finde in the Prophecies of the Scriptures, that there are two sorts and times of the calling of the Gentiles; the first is, that which should be with the rejection and casting off of the Jews, and as *S. Paul* saith, *to provoke them to jealousie*: such a calling as should be in a manner occasional, that God might not want a Church the time the

See this more fully in this Authors Treatise of the Apostasie of the latter Times.. pag. 8.

Isa. 2. 2, 3;
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the Jews were to be cast out; for this is that which S. Paul means, *Rom. 11. 15.* *That the casting away of the Jews,* is the calling of the Gentiles, or *reconciling of the world*: whence we may see, that the Apostles were not to preach Christ to the Gentiles, until being first offered to the Jews, they refused him: and this is that calling of the Gentiles which hitherto hath been for many ages.

But there is a second and more glorious calling of the Gentiles to be found in the Prophecies of Scripture; not a calling as this is, wherein the Jews are excluded; but a calling wherein the Jews shall have a share of the greatest glory, and to have a preheminance above other nations, when *all nations shall flow unto them*, & walk in their light: for the calling of the remainder of the world which is not yet under Christ, is reserved for the solemnizing of the Jews restitution: This is that calling and that time which he calls the *fulness of the Gentiles*; *I would not brethren* (saith he) *have you ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is hapned to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved.* This is that time whereof he speaks, that if the present fall of the Jews be the *riches of the world*, and *their decay* the *riches of the Gentiles*, How much more shall their *fulness* be the *fulness of the Gentiles*? This is that glorious time which the Prophecy of this Text principally, if not altogether, intended: for, if the *fulness of the glory and enlargement of the Church* be here described, then it must needs be, that the time hereof hath never yet been, because as yet *the fulness of the Gentiles*, whereof S. Paul speaks,

speaks, is not yet come in. While the Roman and Iron part of Nebuchadnezzars Image was yet standing, a stone was hewn out of the Mountain without hands: This is the first state of the Kingdome of Christ, and calling of the world, which hath been hitherto: but at length this stone, when the time of the Images brittle feet came, smote the Image upon those feet, so that the wind blew the whole Image away, and there was no more place found for any part thereof; which was no sooner done, but the stone which smote the Image, swelled into a great Mountain, and filled the whole earth. This is the time of the fulness of Christs Kingdom, the *fulness of the Gentiles*: This is the time when *the Mountain of the Lords house shall be established upon the tops of the Mountains*; namely, when the small stone of Christs Kingdom, which is now in being, shall smite the brittle feet of the last remainder of the Roman State, now subsisting in the Popedome, in whom the divided Toes of too many Kingdoms, are in a sort (though but brittlely) united together: and so that great Seven-hilled City still Ladies it over the Nations of the Earth.

[T]

EZRA



E Z R A 6. 10.

That they may offer Sacrifices of sweet savour unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of his Sons.

TH E words of the Decree of King Darius, for the building and furnishing of the service of the Temple of God at Jerusalem; *That (saith he) which they have need of, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, both young bullocks, rams and lambs, wheat, salt, wine and oyle, let it be given them day by day without fail; That they may offer Sacrifices of sweet savour unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of his Sons.*

I have made choice of this Scripture, to shew that Sacrifice was *Species Orationis*, or a Rite of Supplication unto God: Such a one, namely, wherein the Suppliant came not with naked prayer, but presented something unto his God, whereby to find favour in his sight. The nature and quality of the thing presented, was *Munus federale*, consisting of meat and drink; in the tender whereof, as a sinner agnized himself to be his Gods vassal and servant, so by acceptance of the same, he was reconciled and restored to his Covenant, by the atonement and forgiveness of his sin. Forasmuch as, according to

to the use and custome of Mankinde, to receive meat and drink from the hand of another; was a sign of amity and friendship, much more to make another partaker of his Table, as the sinner was here of Gods, by eating of his Oblation. Hence those who came to make supplication unto the Divine Majesty, whom they had offended, were wont by this Rite to make way for their sute, by removing the obstacle of his offence: for what hope of speeding could there be, whilst the party to whom we tendred our supplication, should be at enmity with us? when God might say, *What hast thou to do to take my Covenant in thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behinde thee?* for the foundation of all Invocation, is, *Remember thy Covenant*; and of Impetration, the *Remission of our sins*.

For this cause therefore was Sacrifice used, as *Medium deprecandi Deum*, as a Rite of address unto God, when we were to make prayer and supplication unto him; yea, or to bless or give thanks: But this is not to my present purpose, but the use for prayer onely; which to have been thus addressed as I speak, appears not onely by the words of my Text, *That they may offer, &c. and pray, &c.* But sundry other places of Scripture, which I mean to rehearse.

As first, by that so often inculcated of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, that where they pitched down their Tents, they built also an Altar, and *there called upon the Name of the Lord*: But an Altar was a place for sacrifice; therefore Sacrifice must be a Rite, whereby they called upon the name of God.

[T 2]

The

Exa 6.10.

The same appears by that speech of *Saul*, 1 Sam. 13. 12. when *Samuel* reproving him for having offered a burnt-offering; I said, (saith he) *The Philistims will come down upon me to Gilgal, and I have not made supplication unto the Lord: I forced my self therefore, and offered a burnt-offering: therefore to offer a burnt offering, was to make supplication.*

It is yet more plain out of 1 Sam. 7. 8. The Children of *Israel* said to *Samuel*, Cease not (or be not silent) to cry unto the Lord our God for us, that he will save us out of the hands of the *Philistims*: and *Samuel* (saith the Text) took a sucking Lamb, and offered it for a burnt offering unto the Lord, and *Samuel* cried unto the Lord for *Israel*, and the Lord heard him.

It is further proved by that in the 116 Psalm, I will take the cup of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord: for this cup of salvation is the Libamen, or Drink-offering annexed and poured upon the sacrifice, at what time they used (as here you see) to call upon the Name of the Lord: 'Tis a Synecdoche, where the part is put for the whole: Also to take, is here to offer, by that figure, *qua ex Antecedente intelligitur Consequens.*

The same is implied by that of *Micah* 6. 6. *Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow my self before the Most High? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings? with calves of a year old?*

And by that *Antithesis*, Prov. 15. 8. *The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord; but the prayer of the upright is his delight:* for here the words of *Sacrifice* and *Prayer* are taken the one for the other.

other : It being all one, as if it had been said, for (Prayer of the upright) the Sacrifice of the upright, or for (Sacrifice of the wicked) the prayer of the wicked. Hence it follows, that *Sacrifice* was *Species Orationis*. Ezra 6.1

The like may be inferred out of *Solomons* prayer at the dedication of the Temple, and the Lords answer to the same ; for in that dedicatory prayer is no mention made at all of Sacrifice to be there offered, but onely that the Lord would be pleased to hear from heaven the prayers of such and such as should be made in that place, or towards it. Nevertheless, when God appeared to *Solomon* in the night, he saith unto him, *I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to my self for an house of Sacrifice*, 2 Chron. 7.12. plainly implying, that to be an house of Sacrifice, was to be an house of Prayer.

Adde to these, that in the 1 Mac. 12.11. where the Jews in their Epistle to the *Lacedemonians*, speak on this manner: *We at all times (say they) without ceasing, both in our feasts and other convenient dayes, do remember you, in the Sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers ; ἐν δὲ αἰσιν δ' οὖν, for in our prayers at our Sacrifices* : Certainly it may be gathered hence, that prayers were annexed to their Sacrifices, and sacrifice was a Rite of Prayer.

The like we shall finde in the first of *Baruch*, where we reade, that those who were carried Captive with *Jechonias*, made a Collection of Money, and sent it to *Jerusalem*, saying, *Behold, we have sent you money to buy you burnt-offerings, and*

[T 3]

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Exa 6. 10.

sin-offerings, and incense, and prepare ye the meat-offering, and offer upon the Altar of the Lord our God, and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and for the life of Baltasar his son, that their dayes on earth may be as the dayes of heaven; just to that of my Text, that they may offer Sacrifices of sweet savour unto the God of heaven, and pray, &c.

Hence appears the reason why *Josephus*, when the Scripture mentions no more, but that *Noah* offered a Sacrifice, when he came out of the Ark, attributes unto him a Prayer. *Noe*, saith he, *veritus ne Deus damnatis ad interitum hominibus, per singulos annos terram inundaret, victimis incensis precabatur, ut in posterum pristinus rerum ordo maneret, &c.*

I could be as plentiful in Profane Testimonies to this point, as in Sacred; and could alledge the Testimonies of *Homer*, (where we have Examples of Sacrifices with the forms of prayer) of *Herodotus*, and others. But what need we the Testimonies of the Gentiles, save to know that in this point the Jews and they agreed? It is enough to have proved it out of Scripture, that this was the use and nature of Sacrifice, wherein I have been so much the longer, because though the thing be of it self most apparent and evident, yet it is very little taken notice of.

But you will enquire now, What profit hath this discourse, or what use is there of this thing being known? I answer, Yes; it will help our Conceit very much to understand in what sense, and

and for what respect, the ancient Church called the *Eucharist*, or Lords Supper, a Sacrifice, and how harmless that notion was; namely, they took this Sacrament to have been ordained by our blessed Saviour, to succeed those bloody Sacrifices of the Law, and to be a *Medium deprecandi Deum* in the New Testament, as they were in the Old, by representing the Body and Blood of Christ unto his Father; κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ, forasmuch as they saw them both to be Rites of a like kinde, as consisting of Meats and Drinks, both *Epule fœderales*, those of the Old Covenant, this of the New [τὸ ποτήριον ἢ καὶ τὴν διαθήκην] both Rites of Atonement, or for Impetration of Remission of sin [τὸ ποτὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα μου, saith our Saviour, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.] Besides, the Eucharist was by the time of its institution, as it were substituted in place of the Passoever, which was a Sacrifice of that kinde, called *Pacifica*. All these things considered, how obvious was it for them to think, that it was in the Institution intended for the same End and Use the other were; namely, for a Commemoration whereby to have access and finde favour with God, when we address our selves unto him in the New Testament?

And this is clearly proved to be the judgement of the Ancient Church, both by the practise of the first and best Times, and from the Authority of Scripture it self, in a Tract already published, called, *The Christian Sacrifice*; to which you may have recourse.



P S A L. 132.7.

We will go into his Tabernacles, we will worship towards his Footstool.

 O the Hebrew לְהוֹדוֹת רַגְלֵיךָ is rightly rendered; and they who say *Before his footstool*, imply the same, if it be rightly construed: The Septuagint hath εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ, *Toward the place where his feet stand*: which is a Periphrasis of a *Footstool*.

THE LORDS FOOTSTOOL here mentioned, was either the Ark of the Testimony it self, or the place at least where it stood, called *DEBIR*, or the *Holy of Holies*, towards which the Jews in their Temple used to Worship: The very next words following my Text argue so much, *Arise, O Lord, into thy Rest, thou and the Ark of thy strength*. And it is plain out of the 1 *Chron.* 28.2. where *David* saith concerning his purpose to have built God an House; *I had in mine heart to build an House of rest for the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and for the FOOTSTOOL of our God*. Where the conjunction (*and*) is exegetical, and the same with *that is*. According to this expression the Prophet *Jeremy* also, in the beginning of the second of his Lamentations, bewaileth *that the Lord had cast down the beauty*

beauty of Israel, (that is, * his glorious Temple) and remembred not his FOOTSTOOL, (that is, the the Ark of his Covenant) in the day of his wrath.

Psa. 132.7.

* As Isa.
60. v. 7. &
c. 64. v. 10.
Psa. 96. 6.

This to be the true and genuine meaning of this phrase of *worshipping the Lord towards his footstool*, besides the confessed Custome of the time, is evidently confirmed by a parallel expression of this worshipping posture: Psa. 28.2. *Hear the voice of my supplication when I cry unto thee, when I lift up mine hands אל־דְּבִיר קִרְשֵׁךְ towards thine HOLY ORACLE*; that is, toward the most holy place where the Ark stood, and from whence God gave his answers. For that the דְּבִיר DEBIR, which is here translated ORACLE, was the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *Most holy place*, is clear out of the 6. and 8. Chapters of the first Book of Kings; where in the ^a former we read, that *Solomon prepared the ORACLE or DEBIR, to set the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord there*: in the ^b latter, that *the Priests brought in the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord unto his place, into the Oracle of the House, to the most holy place, even under the wings of the Cherubins*. Wherefore the Authors of the Translation used in our Liturgy rendred this passage of the Psalm, *When I hold up my hands toward the Mercy-seat of thy holy Temple*; namely, having respect to the meaning thereof. Thus you see, that one of the two must needs be this *Scabellum pedum*, or FOOTSTOOL of God, either the Ark or Mercy-seat it self, or the *Adytum Templi*, the *Most holy place* where it stood: For that it is not the whole Temple at large (though that might be so called) but some thing or part to those

^a V. 19.

^b V. 6.

Psa. 132. 7.

1 Sam. 4. 4

those that are within it, the first words of my Text [*We will go into his Tabernacles*] do argue. If then it be the Ark (whose cover was that we call the Mercy-seat) it seems to have been so called, in respect of Gods sitting upon the Cherubins, under which the Ark lay, as it were his footstool : whence sometimes it is described, *The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord of Hosts, which sitteth upon the Cherubins.* If the Ark, with the cover thereof the Mercy-seat, be it self considered as Gods Throne, then the place thereof, the *DEBIR*, may not unfitly be termed his footstool. Or lastly, if we consider heaven to be the Throne of God, as indeed it is, then whatsoever place or monument of Presence he hath here on earth, is in true esteem no more but his footstool.

Thus the meaning of the Text is plain, which I thought good to make choice of for the argument of my Discourse at this time, for our better information concerning the lawfulness of that practise of worshipping God towards the holy Table or Altar : For it becomes not us, who live in such places as these, where knowledge is taught, and should be derived to other parts of the Church, to be ignorant of the reason and quality of any thing, especially concerning the Worship of God, which either we do our selves, or see others do ; lest in the first we be guilty of Imprudence ; in the other, of Uncharitableness in miscensuring others. And in this particular, information is so much the more needful, because many scruple at this kinde of posture in Gods Worship, esteeming it little better then Idolatry,

latry, as being of like nature with worshipping God by an Image: wherein how much they are deceived I shall make now to appear.

Psa. 132. 7

Know therefore, That to worship God by an Image, and to worship him towards some place or monument of his Presence, are things of a differing nature: for the first is absolutely forbidden by the Divine Law; the latter we finde continually practised by the people of God in the Old Testament, and that with his allowance and approbation. Thus in the Wilderness they worshipped him towards the Cloud, as the sign or monument of his Presence going with them, *Exod. 34. 5, 8*. In the Tabernacle and Temple, they directed their posture toward the Ark of the Covenant, or most Holy place, as my Text, and that paralleld place now alledged out of *Psal. 28*. for confirmation, witnesseth; namely, as to the place of his *Throne* and *Footstool*. Unto which I adde for a third Testimony, that of *Psal. 99. v. 5*. *Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship towards his footstool*: There goes before it in the beginning of the Psalm, *The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble; he sitteth between [or upon] the Cherubins*. The same thing is meant or implied by that expression of *worshipping the Lord toward his holy Temple*, in the 5. and 138. Psalm; in the first whereof, *v. 7*. *I will come into thine House* (saith David) *in the multitude of thy mercy, and in thy fear will I worship toward thy Holy Temple*. Mark: *I will come into thine house, and then worship, &c.* This form the Jews at this day are wont to pronounce in the Adoration which they make at their entrance into their Synagogues, turning

Psa. 134 7.

turning themselves at the same time toward an Ark or Cabinet, wherein they lay the Book of the Law, made and placed in imitation of the Ark of the Covenant with the Two Tables. In the other *Psalms* likewise, *v. 1, 2.* the Psalmist saith, *Before the Gods* (that is, the Angels) *will I sing praise unto thee : I will worship towards thy holy Temple ;* that is, toward the place of the Ark or Mercy-seat. For we are to take notice, That the people or Layety came no nearer then into the Courts of the Temple onely, and the Priests themselves entred no farther, but when they were to order the Lamps, and burn Incense evening & morning, or renew the Shew-bread, otherwise they also stood and officiated without in the Court appointed for them, called the *Priests-Court* : so that both (the people, especially) standing in the Courts when they worshipped, they directed their faces toward the Temple or *ΝΑΟΣ*, strictly so called, where the Ark and Mercy-seat were. Hence comes this expression of *worshipping the Lord toward his holy Temple* ; as much as to say, We will come into thy Courts, and worship thee toward the place where thy memorial or monument of thy Presence is. With these places may be compared that of the *134 Psalm*, where the Levites (standing namely in the *Priests Court*) are exhorted to *lift up their hands toward the Sanctuary* [LXX. *αὐτοὶ τὰ ἄγρια. Targ. ad Suggestum Sanctitatis*] and to *blejs the Lord*.

Besides this, when they were absent from the Temple, yea though in a strange and forain Country, and that farre remote, yet when they prayed or wor-

wor-

worshipped; they turned their faces thitherward, as appears by 1 Kings 8. 44. &c. in the prayer of *Salomon* at the dedication thereof; and the example of *Daniel*, Dan. 6. 10. who opened his windowes towards *Jerusalem*, and kneeling upon his knees three times a day, prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he was wont; yea, even then when the Temple and holy City were burnt and destroyed, and the Ark of the Testimony not then there, but onely the place where it was wont to be. *Zorobabel* also, 3 Esd. 4. 54. Lifted up his face to heaven, toward *Jerusalem*, and praised the King of Heaven: and this custome the Jews in their devotions still observe unto this day. Yea all this may seem (for ought that can be shewed to the contrary) to have been done out of the use of mankind, without any speciall precept to that purpose, which is no where to be shewen. For as for the prayer of *Salomon* (besides that precepts are not wont to be given in prayers) it is there presupposed only, as a rite of custome; * nature it seems having taught mankind, as in their addresses unto men to look unto their face; so in their addresses unto the divine Majesty, to look that way, or toward that place, where his presence is more demonstrated then elsewhere; whether *ὀψεται* (if I may so speak) as in the heavens, or *ῥίσει*, as in Temples, and like sacred places, where his name and presence either is, or is wont to be recorded. Hence it appears, that to worship God, *versus locum presentie*, towards the place where any sign or specification of his presence is, is no Idolatry, nor forbidden by the second Commandement: for surely that which was no Idolatry

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Exra 6. 10.

* Plutarch. in *Aristide de Paulania*: *Laebrymis op-pletus con-vertit se ad sanum Junonis, manusque ad caelum tendens, precatur Ciceroniam Junonem, &c.*
Varro l. 4. de lingua Lat. de Curio se devovente.
Ad concordia (sub. adem) con-versus, &c.
Sic emendat Scalig. quem vide in Collectaneis, &c.
que ibidem ex Livio adducit ad hanc rem facientia.

Psal. 123. 7

in the Old Testament, is no Idolatry in the New; whatsoever fault otherwise it might have.

The reason of this difference, between worshipping God by an Image, and worshipping him towards some place where his presence is specified, is this: Because in the first, the creature is used objectively to the *Act* of divine worship, (that is, as the thing worshipped) but in the other, as a locall circumstance of worship onely. For we are to know that a creature may be used in the act of divine worship, by way of *object*, by way of *locall circumstance*, or by way of *instrument*. The first by way of *object*, that is, as that to w^{ch} the Act of worship is directed and terminated upon, without question is Idolatry. For the Lord our God is a jealous God, and cannot endure that any created thing should partake with him by way of object, in the Act of his worship: But he that useth an Image in the Act of divine worship, as an Image, that is, interposing it in the same, as the representation of that he worshippeth; makes it not the term of his posture onely (as any other creature might be, and some alwayes will be) but the *Butt* (as I may so speak) or *object* of his Act. For in the act of worship, to look or attend unto any thing, as that which representeth unto him the object, unto which he is tending his act, is to make it an object representative; and consequently, such as in part, and as by way of intervention receiveth the Act, which by it is tendred to the prototype. Which although it be no more, but to be only relatively worshipped; and for the examples sake, and not absolutely and for it self: yet is it more then the jealousie

lousie of God can endure, as is manifest by his so strict prohibition, and frequent detestation thereof.

But as for the two other wayes of using a creature in the act of Gods worship, by way of *instrument* onely, or *locall circumstance*; neither of them is impious or unlawfull.

First, not to use it therein, as (or by way of) an instrument, whereby it is performed, for then it would be unlawful to use a Table or a Chalice in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, or the like; to use a book when we pray, sing, or give thanks unto God; to praise him with instruments of musick, as *David* ordained: to use a book to swear upon, when we take an oath; for to swear, is as much an Act of Religious worship, and as much appropriated unto God in Scripture, as any other worship due unto him. Wherefore the Rites used therein (as to turn toward, lay our hands upon, and kisse the book of the holy Gospell, as the Tables of the new Covenant of God with men in Christ) if they be well examined, will afford much light toward the decision of this question of posture in our adoration of God in the Church: especially if it be considered, that the very same rites, for the same purpose, have bin anciently used upon an * Altar. But this by the way.

See 1 Kin.
ch. 8. v. 31.

Jurantes Aras tangebant. Cicer. *pro Flacco.* Plautus *Rudent.* Virg. XII. *Æneid.* Juv. Sat. 4. Justin. l. 14. *vid. Pont.* p. 3. p. 145.

Secondly, neither is it impious or unlawful in Gods worship, to use a creature in way of a *locall circumstance* thereof; namely, as that whereby the place of our worship is determined: For then it would be unlawfull to use Temples or Churches to worship

God

Exa 6.10.

God in ; or to have any designed place there accommodated for the Priest to Minister or Officiate at. But this our practise shewes , we esteem and acknowledge lawfull. Now if it be lawfull to make use of a creature for the *Ubi* or place *where* , of the worship we give unto God , why not as well for the place *WHICH-WARD* , or *which way* we worship him ? *UBI & QUO* where and *which way* being both alike differences and relations of place ; and the worship of God no more communicated thereby with the Creature, whereby we determine the one, then whereby we determine the other. Indeed the creature by this means is honoured and dignified , but that honour the Creature receiveth, lies only in this , in being chosen and preferred before any other for such sacred use. Which honour, I trow , is of no other or higher nature , then what any sacred thing according to the fitnessse and propriety it hath, may be respected with.

Moreover , if it should not be lawfull in divine worship to direct our posture towards a creature, and that too in regard of some speciall relation it hath to Godward , it would be unlawfull to set our faces, and lift up our hands and eyes to heaven in our prayers and invocations rendered unto the divine Majesty , which I know not any that makes scruple of. And yet if the determination of our posture only by a creature in divine worship be Idolatry, why might we not justly scruple, lest this posture of our hands and faces to heaven-ward at such a time, might make us guilty of worshipping the Host of Heaven, that is, the Sun, Moon, Starres , and Planets,

nets, as the Gentiles, and Israelitish Idolaters did ? But for our warrant herein, our blessed Saviour, in that prayer he hath left unto his Church, hath taught us to say, *Pater noster qui es in Cælis*. For without doubt if we may without impiety determine the divine presence thus in our speech; we may also (yea fit, I think, we should) do the like at the same time with our posture, which is no more but to expresse that visibly by our gesture, which we utter vocally by our mouthes. For not that which is before us only in our posture, but that which is the *terminus* of our Act, is the Object of our worship. Nor to determine our posture only by a creature, but to communicate the worship we give unto God therewith, is that which the divine law forbiddeth. And that this difference must be admitted, is evinced by the severe and peremptory prohibition of the one, and the frequent examples of the other, practised by holy men in Scripture. Besides that the admission thereof openeth the true way how to answer our adversaries, when they alledge the aforementioned places of Scripture in patronage of their Idolatrous worship.

Now then to apply all this to the *hypothesis*: ἡ αἴα τεῖντα, the *H O L Y T A B L E* or *A L T A R* (for the difference is but verball) in our Christian Churches, answers unto the Ark or Mercy-seat in the Jewish Temple, being *Solum Christi*, or in the language of Antiquity, the Christian * *Sanctum Sanctorum*; where the book of the *Gospels* (by ancient custome laid thereon) parallels

* *Orat. Pæneg. ap. Euseb. Hist.*

Lib. 10. cap. 4. Dionys. Ar. ep. 8. ad Demophilum.

[V]

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† May not
our order
of setting
the Ten
Comman-
dements
over the
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ion Ta-
ble, have
had some
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this way ?
See orders
Anno
1565.
7 Eliz.
Artic. 7.

Mat. 10.

the † two *Tables*; the holy *Eucharist*, the golden *Pot of Manna*; that is, the sacred monuments and symbols of the new Covenant, those of the old. Why may not then a like respect be had to it, in the posture of our Christian adoration, which the Jewes in their worship, had not only to the Ark of the Testimony, but to the Altars which stood before it, yea even to the Temple it selfe, when they could not come to perform their devotions therein; and that too (as I have already observed) when that Ark which *Moses* made by Gods appointment, with those two sacred symbols (the two Tables and Pot of Manna) were no more there; as in the second Temple they were not: but onely the place ordained for them: or at the most (if that) some imitative Ark only with a Roll of the Law put therein, such as the Jewes at this day are known to have in their Synagogues, and to direct their posture toward it, when they worship, as formerly they did to that in the Temple. See *Buxtorfe Synagoga Judaica*. cap. 5.

Lastly, all Nations and Religions have been wont to use some reverentiall gesture when they enter into their Temples. And our blessed Saviour in the Gospel would not have his Disciples to enter into a mans house without some salutation; *εὐσπῶμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτὴν*, when ye enter into an house, salute it. Why should we not think it to be a part of Religious manners, to do as much when we come into the House of God? Now of all Gestures, Adoration, or bowing of the body seems to be the most comely, and ready for that purpose; and of all postures in the doing thereof (and

(and some posture there must needs be) that which is directed towards that which is the most sacred and of most preheminent relation to God in the Church; that namely, where he is commemorated, and the blessed Symbols of his Body and Blood reached forth to us (who is our * Propitiatory through faith in his Blood, and by whom alone, and whose Sacrifice, we have access unto his Father) the *HOLY TABLE* or *ALTAR*. What place then so fit to be both in our eye and minde; when we make our addressees unto him, as this?

ἱλαστήριον,
Rom. 3. 25.
The name
whereby
the Mercy-
Seat is cal-
led in the
old Testa-
ment. The

Israelites worshipped towards the place of their ἱλαστήριον, which was a type of ours; why may not we worship in like manner toward the place of our ἱλαστήριον, the truth of theirs?

Of the practice of Antiquity.

THAT the ancient Christians worshipped ^a towards the East (that is, the same way they did their first homage to God ^b in their Baptisme) is manifest to all that have but looked into Antiquity.

^a See the
Author
Quest. 6.
Resp. ad or-
thod. in Ju-
stin. Mart.
Quest. 118

Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. ante Med. Tertul. Apol. c. 16. item ad nationes. c. 13. Origen. Hom. 5. in Num. p. 210. b Dionys. Areop. de Ecclesiast. Hier. c. 2.

That their Altars also were usually placed toward the same in their Churches, is a truth that can hardly be questioned.

It follows therefore that when they worshipped, they turned themselves, or looked toward the Altar also.

If it be asked, which of the two they respected

[V 2]

in

Namely,
that she at
no time
turned her
back upon
the Altar;
that is, not
so much as
out of the
time of
worship.

in this their posture: I answer, they respected both; and therefore placed the Altar accordingly to the East-ward, that both might be observed; even as the *Jews* placed their Altars both of Incense and Burnt-offering toward the West, because they worshipped that way. But if they could not observe both, then they preferred the Altar, as in that Church at *Antioch*, where (if *Socrates* say true) the Altar, or place thereof, the Chancell, (for so *Δυσιαστήριον* sometimes signifies) stood toward the West, contrary (as he there acknowledgeth) to the manner of other Churches. Now he that considers well the Custome of Antiquity, and remembers that which *Gregory Nazianzen* testifies of his mother *Nonna*, will not think it credible, they should turn their backs upon the Altar, or their faces from the Priest, whilst he officiated thereat, as then he alwaies did; which yet they must needs do, if, notwithstanding that situation of the Altar, they had worshipped toward the East. Howsoever if the nature of the things be considered, there can be no difference given for the point of lawfulness between the one and the other; nor why this should more intrench upon impiety and superstition, then that.

Thus much we finde of the Christians posture in generall, when they worshipped God. But what reverentiall Guise, Ceremony, or Worship, they used at their ingresse into Gods House, in the Ages next to the Apostles (and some I beleve they did) is buried in silence and oblivion. The *Jews* before them (from whom the Christian Religion sprang) used, as I have already shewen, to bow themselves down with their

their faces toward the Testimony or Mercy-Seat. The Christians after them, in the Greek and Oriental Churches, have, time out of minde, and without any known beginning thereof, used to bow in like manner, with their posture toward the Altar, or holy Table, saying that of the Publican in the Gospel, *God be mercifull to me a sinner*; as appears by the Liturgies of *S. Chrysostome*, and *S. Basil*; and as they are still known, both Laity and Clergie, to do at this day. Which custome of theirs, not being found to have been ordained or established by the Decree or Canon of any Councell, and being so agreeable to the use of Gods people of the old Testament, may therefore seem to have been derived unto them, from very remote and ancient Tradition. Nothing therefore can be known of the use of those first ages of the Church, farther then it shall seem probable, they might imitate the *Jews*, Gods people before them, or have given beginning to the custome of the Churches after them. And if kneeling, bowing, or inclination of the head could be proved, or for want of testimony, may be supposed to have been their gesture at their ingresse; surely there were no reason, why we should not beleieve they bowed, kneeled, or inclined their heads the same way then, which they used to pray and worship at other times.

In the Latine Church this gesture of bowing towards the Altar, may seem to have been proper to the Clergie in their approaches to it, and recesso from it, at least to such as came into the Quire; the Laity at their first entrance into the Church, kneeling

[V 3]

ing

Apud
Meyssum
& in notis
Pontani ad
Proterosteli-
arium.

ing onely. *Card. Bessarion* (a Greek) in his Epistle to the Tutor of the Sons of *Thomas Palaeologus*, instructing them how to carry and behave themselves among the Latines; In *Ecclesiâ Latinorum* (saith he) *cum ingredientur, in genua procumbentes, preces dicant, ut Latinis mos est*: For in Greece, as is aforesaid, their manner was to bow. Yet whether they used not some other gesture in Spain, would be enquired; because of those words of *Isidorus Hispalensis, De divinis officiis, lib. 1. c. 10.* concerning those that came into the Church after the Service or Lessons were begun; *Si superveniar quisque* (saith he) *cum lectio celebratur, adoret tantum Deum, & præsignatâ fronte, aurem sollicitè accommodet.*

I will adde here two the most ancient Testimonies, I think, extant of a reverentiaall respect used to be given to the holy Table or Altar; and that, as I conceive, (if not both of them, one at least) of a more direct nature, then that wherewith the same is honoured by being made the tearm onely of our posture, when we worship God.

One is out of *DIONYSIUS* called *AREOPAGITA* (or whosoever were the Author, for sure ancient he is) *Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 2. De mysterio baptismi*, where he saith, that after the Hymne accustomed was sung, the Priest or Bishop ἀσπασάμεν & ἱερὰν τράπεζαν, having saluted or kissed (for either way may ἀσπασάμεν be rendered) the holy Table, he goes thence and questions the party to be baptized, &c.

The other is of *S. Athanasius*, in fine Sermonis adversus eos, qui humana in Christo Domino natura confessores spem suam in homine desigere dicunt. Edit. *Commel.*

mel. Tom. 2. p. 255: in these words, *Quid quod & nunc*
 [οἱ προσιοῦντες ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ] *qui ad sanctum Al-*
tare accedunt, [περιπλάττομενοι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μετ' φόβου

& χαρᾶς ἀσπάζομενοι] *illudque amplectuntur, & cum*
timore & letitia salutant (vel osculantur) non in lapi-
dibus aut lignis, sed in Gratia per lapides aut ligna piis
commemorata animo insistent. Understand here by
 X A P I Σ, or Gratia, the holy EUCHARIST, for
 so the Fathers are wont to call it. See Causabon.
 Exercit. 16. §. 46. The meaning therefore is, that
 those, who when they approach the holy Altar, do with
 fear and joy embrace and kisse it (as the manner then
 was) attend it not as wood and stones, but as that where-
 by the Body and Bloud of Christ is commemorated to his
 holy Ones.



Mr. *MED E*'s
EPISTLES:
 BEING
 ANSWERS to divers LETTERS
 OF
 Learned Men.

The Fellows of *Trinity Colledge near Dublin,*
 their Letter to Mr. *Mede.*

Worthy Sir,

THE vacancy of the place of Provost
 of this Colledge, happening by the
 death of our late Governour Sir Wil-
 liam Temple, hath drawn us the Fel-
 lows of the same to seek abroad for
 a Successor, on whom that place might
 be conferred; among many whom we have had recom-
 mended unto us, especially by the Lord Primate of Ire-
 land, your worthy self is one: Upon which considera-
 tion, being of all other the weightiest, we have fixed
 [A a] our

our resolutions upon your person, and have accordingly sealed the Election. And howsoever we are as yet ignorant of your intentions, as unacquainted with your person; yet the hope of your acceptance is so much advanced by the Lord Primate his confidence of the same, as we conceive you will not expect we should use many words to that purpose: a long continued uncertainty in your determinations; will (as matters now stand) be a means to lay us open to many disadvantages, which we hope you will stop, by your freely accepting of what we so freely tender unto you. What the Affairs are that require your speedy settlement in the Government, we refer to the Relation of Mr. Temple and Mr. Lloyd, two of the senior Fellows, to whom you may give credit as our Agents, whose Commission is from us, and Employments in the behalf of our Colledge, have our approbation. And thus ceasing to be further troublesome unto you, we commit you to the protection of the Almighty, ever resting

Your assured Friends,

Trinity Colledge,
March 15.
1626.

Jo. Brodley, Jo. Wigget;
Jo. Johnson, Nath. Linch,
Edw. Parry, Ranulph. Adams.

*Mr. Mede's Answer to the Letter of the Fellows of
Trinity Colledge near Dublin in Ireland.*

Worthy Gentlemen,

YOur love and good opinion of me a person so unknown unto you, hath so far obliged me to your Society, that I confesse an Answer by Letter
is

is no way fufficient to acknowledge it : Yet both the great difference accompanying your Election, with fuch inconveniences as I faw muft needs have followed thereupon; befides the confcioufnefs of mine own difabilities and infirmities, which gave me juft caufe to fufpect, I fhould not fatisfie that expectation which would be of a ftranger in fuch a place, hath deterred me from accepting that honour which was by you fo lovingly conferred upon me : which therefore I muft and do fully and freely refign into your hands, hoping that God will direct you in the choice of fome other, both more able and worthy to take that charge upon him. Howbeit, as I fhall never forget this fo undeserved a favour, fo will I ever account my felf to have that relation to your Society, which fhall binde me as affectionately to love and pray for the profperity thereof, as if I were a Member; and, if God fhould ever give me opportunity, no lefs to endeavour the fame: In the mean time I heartily defire Almighty God to blefs you, and will ever remain

Your obliged Friend,

Chriffs Coll. 10 April,
1627.

Joſeph Mede.

Epiftola Magiftri Medi ad R. Armachanum.

Reverende Primas,

EX nuperrimis Domini Loci ad Capellum noſtrum literis, haud mediocri cum animi moleſtiâ intellexi, quos numero Apocalypſico ſeptem ad R.D. tuam

[A a 2]

tuam in *Hiberniam* transmiseram libellos, in itinere *Dublinum* & *Droghedam* interdeperiisse. Hem, Itane eos in fraterculorum *Hibernorum*, quibus minimè laboraveram aut sumptus feceram, manus devenisse ! Ut ut sit, jacturam istam Reverende Antistes, quantum possum, nunc refarcio, missis, numero quidem propter inopiam meam paucioribus, sed paris omnino meæ in R. Paternitatem tuam, toti mihi nominibus honorandam, observantiæ & officii testibus. Unum autem me malè habet, quod cui præcipuè atque inprimis debueram hoc quicquid sit literarii muneris, ei, jam malo infortunio meo, postremo ferè omnium obveniat quod destinaveram. Tu enim Reverende Præsul, primus mihi ad hæc ulterius excolenda stimulus. Tu torpentem animum alloquio, comitate, & plausu tuo excitasti. Imò quod nunquam mihi nisi cum gratissimi animi significatione memorandum est, Tu illustri illâ tuâ ad Collegii *Dubliniensis* Præposituram commendatione effecisti, ut nullius antea neque meriti neque existimationis homuncio, exinde tamen aliquid esse videar ab æstimatione Vestrâ. Quidni igitur ægerri-
mè feram, tam serò ad Te perventuram esse hanc qualemunque officii mei & devotionis tesseram ?

Huic igitur malo sive infortunii, sive culpæ fuerit, aliquatenus ut medicer, consultum fore putabam si *Auctariolum* aliquod libellulis hisce meis ad-
jungerem. Dissertatiunculam de geminâ illâ apud *Danielem* periodo Dierum c. 12. v. 11, 12. præterea *Specimen* interpretationis *Millennii Apocalyptici*, à reliquo similibus speciminum corpore resectum. Nam rogatu seu magis instantiâ amicorum, quibus institutum

tutum meum in libellulo meo præter omnem opinionem placuit, factum est, ut *specimina* quædam exinde concinnaverim interpretationum *Apocalypiticarum* ad amussim *Clavis Apocalyptica*. In quibus quæ de septimâ Tubâ ejusque mille annis disseruerim, limatissimo judicio tuo R. P. eâ quâ par est humilitate subjicio. De quo etiam quid paulò post mihi acciderit apud Paternitatem tuam tacere non possum; nimirum vix dum me hæc conscripsisse atque cum amicis de iisdem contulisse, cum ecce in Catalogo *Francofurtensi*, propter tumultus bellicos & marinorum itinerum pericula post quadrimestre demum ad nos allato, libellum deprehendo hoc titulo, *Verosimilia Historico-Prophetica de rebus in novissimo die eventuris & sacris*, &c. collecta, pio & accurato studio cujusdam ἀγαπῶντος τὴν ἐμπόρευσιν τῆς Κυρίου: protinus animum meum suspicio incescit (quam posteo veram comperi) de *Millennio Apocalypitico* agi. Proinde Bibliopolis nostris id negotiū dedi, ut omni studio librum istum perquirerent. Duo tantum, aut tria exemplaria *Londinum* advecta sunt. Unum ego nactus sum. Author *Lutheranus* est, sed Anonymus, vir quidem ut videtur doctus, & quod in istius sectæ homine rarum, permodestus. Haud temerè suspicatus sum de argumento, nam eandem planè tueretur de *Die suo novissimo* sententiam, quam ego de *Die judicii* conceperam. Ut libro perlecto non mediocriter in sententiâ meâ confirmatus sim, tum propter hoc ipsum, tum quòd multa Scripturæ loca in eo reperi adeo ad meam mentem interpretata, ut consensionem in talibus à communi sententiâ abeuntibus oppidò mirarer. Vides, Reverende Præ-

[A a 3]

sul,

ful, quò me rapit contemplatiunculæ meæ nimium fortasse studium, ut etiam tibi hisce narrandis importunus sim. Sed ultrà Paternitatem tuam à gravioribus tuis meditationibus non distinebo. Deus te, Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine, quàm diutissimè incolumem & superstitem velit Ecclesiæ & Patriæ tuæ bono.

*E Collegio Christi,
24^o Aprilis,
A. 1628.*

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis
tuæ studiosissimus,

Josephus Medus.

*Mr. Mede his second Letter to my Lord of Armagh,
touching the Millennium; and the Account
of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

My Reverend Lord,

HAVING understood by M^r Lowes Letter to M^r Chappell, that my Books were lost between Dublin and Droghedah, as they were coming to your Lordship; I presumed a second time to obtrude upon your Grace three or four more of them: howsoever the worth were not such that the first loss was much material. I sent with them a Letter, and a speculation or two with it, which yet through some defect in sending, I fear will come after them. I beseech your Lordship pardon me, if I have offended (as I am afraid I have) either against discretion, or good manners: For I confess I have been since somewhat jealous, that the books I first sent were not so lost, but that they were found again: which

which if they were, how can I but blush to think, that I have with such either shew of self-love, or unmannerly importunity again troubled your Lordship with them, who should not have presumed at the first to have offered any more then one? But my confidence is in your Graces experienced humanity to accept any thing in good part from a Scholars hand, though perhaps accompanied with some melancholick vanity.

My Lord, I sent in the Letter I mention the last Paragraph or piece of some *Specimina Interpretationum Apocalypticarum*, namely, that which concerned the Millennium. Whereto I added for further probability of my Conceit, somewhat more out of my *Adversaria*, and in special that one of *Carpentarius's Com. in Alcinoum Platonis p. 32. septimum Millennium ab universa Cabbalistarum Scholâ vocari Magnum Diem judicii*. Wherein I had no intent or thought, nor yet have, to avow that old conceit of the *Chiliasm*, That the World should as it were labour 6000 years, and in the seventh thousand should be that glorious Sabbath of the Reign of Christ (I enclined to think it much nearer) but onely to shew how fitly in the Hebrew notion, not onely a long time of some years and ages, but even this very time of a 1000 years might be styled a day. Howbeit I desire your Lordship to give me leave (if but for your recreation) to relate the event of a piece of my Curiosity since that time; the rather, because the means thereof is beholding to your Grace.

I chanced to light upon Mr *Selden's Marmora Arundelliana*, and found therein, together with an

[A a 4]

ho-

honorable and deserved mention of your Graces name, the Chronologic of your *Samaritan Pentateuch*, published to the view of the whole world. I had thereby opportunity to take more curious notice thereof, then I had done when your Lordship was in *England*; and observed, that it much more exceeded the *Jewish* in the Genealogie of the Patriarchs after the flood, then it came short in those before it. It came therefore into my minde to try, how near the 6000 years of the world would be by that Computation, I found it would be *Anno Ara Christiana*, 1736, which is just the very year when the 1260 years of the Beasts reign will expire, if it be reckoned from the Deposition of *Augustulus* the last Roman Emperor.

<i>Deposito Augustuli Anno Ara Christ.</i> _____	476
<i>Anni regni Bestia</i> _____	1260

Sum. 1736

<i>A Conditio Mundo ad aram Christ. juxta</i>	}	3949
<i>Scaligerum</i> _____		

<i>Adde quadriennium quo idem anticipat</i>	}	4
<i>initium Nebuchadnezzaris, nam in cate-</i>		
<i>ris nihil mutato</i> _____		

<i>Excessus Chronologia Samaritana supra</i>	}	311
<i>Judaicam</i> _____		

Ita.

Ita à condito Mundo ad Æram Chri. erunt } 4264
*Ann.*_____

Adde annos Æra Christ. quando exhibunt }
Tempora Bestia seu Apostasias si ducan- 1736
*tur à depositione Augustuli.*_____

Sum. 6000

I began here to consider, whether this difference of the Account of the years of the world were not ordered by a special disposition of Providence, to frustrate our Curiosity in searching the time of the Day of Judgement.

My Lord, I would trouble your Lordship with a Conceit or two more, if I had time; as that I conceive *Nebuchadnezzars* dream, *Dan. 2.* to have been some years before he sought for the interpretation, which was the reason he had forgotten it; the words in *ver. 29.* מְסִינָה מְלִיקוֹ may be taken for the dream, and may be well so construed; viz. That his dream came upon him, or came into his minde. Also that the 40 years, *Ezek. 4. 6.* should be the time of *Manasses* Idolatry, for which God threatens so often that he would destroy that Kingdome. But Mr Provoft will not stay for me. I beseech the Almighty long to bless your Grace, and grant you life; and thus I end with my humble Service; and am

Christ's Coll.
 22 May, 1628.

Your Lordships most ready to
 be commanded,

Joseph Mede.

M^r Hayn his first Letter to M^r Mede, about
severall passages in *Daniel* and *Revel*.

SALUTEM in CHRISTO.

Worthy and Learned Sir,

SOME kind friends have lately imparted to me your
Synchronismes of the Apocalypse printed, and
some other written passages on Daniels times, and other
parts of Scripture. The world must needs give good en-
tertainment to your painfull and learned labours, who
hath undertaken paths trodden by few, with much care of
sure footing, especially in your Synchronismes: yet see
how it falls out (as in this kind, it cannot be avoyded) in
all things you shall not finde assent. For my part I know
well, quàm sit mihi curta suppellex, yet partly that I
may be better instructed my selfe, partly to give you occa-
sion of further clearing the truth, I have sent here inclu-
ded some positions, with Arguments confirming them, con-
trary to some of your Tenents, desiring your favour and
interpretation of my meaning, and your answer at your
best leasure: And assuring you that I do this not con-
tradicens studio, sed amore veritatis indaganda,
and minding (if you encourage me thereto) to shew here-
after my reasons of some dissent in other matters. I com-
mend you and your studies to Gods blessing, and rest

From Christ-parish
in London,
Jun. 5. 1629.

Your very loving Friend,

THO. HAYN.

POSIT.

I. Positively Daniel shewes not the Roman Monarchies persecution of the Church, and the fall of the same Monarchy. For,

If the Roman Empires persecuting the Saints, and the fall of the Empire was not revealed, till Christ revealed them to John in the Apocalyps, then Daniel revealed them not. —

But the Roman Empires persecution and fall, were not revealed, till Christ revealed them to John in the Apocal. Therefore Daniel revealed them not.

The Major Proposition is undeniable.

The Minor is thus proved.

1. The Romans persecuting the Saints and fall, are revealed in the little Book, Apoc. 5. &c by opening seven Seals, and blowing seven Trumpets, all concerning seven-headed Rome: And none were able to open the Seals of this book till Christ opened them to John. — Therefore the Roman Empires persecution and fall were revealed to none, before Christ revealed them to John.

The former part of the Antecedent is granted by all interpreters of the Apocal. The latter part is clear in the Text. Apocal 5. None was able to open the book, none in heaven, or earth, or under the earth; to make the speech more Emphaticall, Paul who delivered to his hearers all the counsell of God, could have preached the persecutions of the Roman Empire to his Hearers from Daniel, if Daniel had opened them.

2. Farther it is thus proved, that the persecutions raised by the Romans against the Church, are not spoken of in Daniel: The persecutions of Christs eternall kingdome are not prophesied of in Daniel. But the persecutions.

cutions raised by the Romans are against Christs eternall Kingdom; Therefore the persecutions, &c.

The major Proposition is confirmed by all speeches of that eternall Kingdome; The stone which became a mountain is not battered, nor the mountain any way assayed, cap. 2. The eternall Kingdom breaks the former kingdoms; But it selfe is not broken. cap. 2. 44. When the four beasts cap. 7. are destroyed, then comes the Son of man in the clouds, and receives the eternall kingdom, which John Baptist, Christ himselfe, and the Apostles preached. There also is no persecution of this kingdome mentioned, cap. 7. 13, 14. nor verse 27. &c. The Battle against the Saints, verse 21. and the consuming them, verse 25. is against Gods Saints, before the setting up of the eternall Kingdome; as the indeavour to alter times and lawes, plainly shew; namely, times for their Feasts and Solemnities prescribed by Moyses: and Lawes; namely about Circumcision and Sacrifices, &c. Antiochus Epiphanes, was the man that attempted this.

II. P O S I T. The fourth Beast, Dan. 7. is not able sufficiently to expresse the Roman Empire, therefore it expresseth it not.

That which is but sufficiently expressed by all the four Beasts, cannot be sufficiently expressed by one of the four alone, namely the fourth. — But the Roman Empire is but sufficiently expressed by all the four Beasts, Dan. 7. — Therefore the Roman Empire cannot be sufficiently expressed by the fourth Beast alone.

The Major is evident. The Minor is thus confirmed.

If the Roman Empire, Apoc. 13. be resembled by a Beast, which is composed of all Daniels four Beasts, Dan. 7. then it is but sufficiently expressed by them all:

But

But the Roman Empire Apoc. 13. is resembled by a Beast which is composed of all Daniels four Beasts, Dan. 7. Therefore the Roman Empire, &c.

The Major is thus proved.

Either the Major is true, or else the Composition taken from the three former is needlesse. But it is not needlesse, For God hath nothing needlesse in his word; Therefore the Major is true.

That the Roman Empire is expressed by a Beast composed of all Daniels four beasts, Dan. 7. is plain. For,

3. It is like a Leopard. --	It hath 7. heads. to had the fourth beast in Daniel.	3. beast and Leopard. -- 4.
1. It hath a Lions mouth. --		1. Lion. -- 1.
2. A Bears pawes. --		2. Bear. -- 1.
4. 10. horns of the 4. beast. --		4. Last beast. -- 1.
In all 7. heads.		

It blasphemes, hath large authority, warres against the Saints, overcomes and prospers: Therefore it is composed, and is extracted out of the 4. beasts, Dan. 7.

M^r Medes Answer to M^r T. H. his first Letter
about severall Prophetical passages
in Daniel and Revelation.

S I R,

THE last week I could not get any time to answer your Letter, and therefore I thought good to make use of your indulgence, that I should answer at my best leasure. And though I have not now that leasure I expected, yet I will not frustrate you any longer. What passages of mine you should have seen upon Daniels times, I cannot imagine; For I remember not to have done any thing directly upon that

that Propheſie, but only occaſionally in ſome diſcourſes upon other places of Scripture; whether any body hath extracted thoſe parcels from their body, I cannot tell, but wiſh they had not, leſt I may have wrong by being miſtaken.

For your two Poſitions about the fourth *Kingdome* in *Daniel*, your Grounds do as much miſtake as contradiſt my Tenets. And therefore I ſhall either answer or decline your arguments by ſetting down my own opinion in theſe following *Theſes*.

1. The *Roman Empire* to be the fourth Kingdom of *Daniel*, was beleev'd by the Church of *Israel*, both before and in our Saviours time, received by the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, and the whole Chriſtian Church, for the firſt 400. years, without any known contradiction. And I confeſſe, having ſo good ground in Scripture, it is with me *tantum non articulus fidei*, little leſſe then an article of faith.

2. I acknowledge alſo, the ſubject of the *Apocalypticall* viſions to be *fata Imperii Romani poſt primum Chriſti adventum uſque ad ſecundum ſuperfuturi*; The fates of the *Roman Empire*, which after the firſt coming of *Chriſt*, was ſtill to continue in being, even till the ſecond. And this I affirm, the *Roman Kingdom* was revealed unto *Daniel*, but not according to that diſtinct ſucceſſion of things, and ſpecification of the fates thereof (which was firſt made known unto *S. Iohn*,) but onely in generall, and in imagine confuſa, not to be explicated but by *Chriſt* himſelf. I ſay the *Roman Kingdom* was revealed to *Daniel* in general, but the order of the times thereof, and the *ſeries rerum gerundarum*, or courſe of things to be acted therein,

therein, not untill the Revelation unto *S. John*.

3. Nor is it strange or unwonted, that a thing may be revealed in generall, and yet most of the particulars concerning the same to be unknown and sealed: The calling of the Gentiles, or the Kingdom of Christ among the Gentiles, by way of *surrogation* to the *Jews*, was revealed unto *S. Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles, but the particular *fates and states* of that Kingdome, were never known till Christ revealed them to *S. John* in the *Apocalypticall* visions. The like I say of the fourth or *Roman* Kingdome; the generall revelation whereof could not but be before the opening of the *sealed book* in the *Apocalyps*, since it had then been so long a time in the world, as it was growen past the *ακμην*, and had fulfilled what it was to fulfill upon *Daniels* people.

4. As for the persecutions of the Church, I deny the argument either of the Seals or Trumpets to be the *Roman* persecutions of Christs Kingdome, or that any of them have reference to persecutions, save the fifth Seale onely, or that any thing contained in them was made known to *Daniel*, save the *Catastrophe* onely represented in the last Trumpet, which the *Angelus tonitruum* proclaims there to be *Consummatio mysterii Dei prout annuntiavit servis suis prophetis*; the finishing of the mysterie of God, as he hath declared to his Servants the Prophets; and therefore cannot be denied to have been both foretold and expected for the generall, although not for the Manner, Time, and Order in *serie rerum gerundarum*, or till now.

Howsoever my Tenet here be, yet your Assertion, that

2 Thel. 2. 8.

that the *Romans* persecution was revealed to none till Christ revealed it to *John*, cannot stand, unlesse you deny the coming of the *man of sin* (who is a limb of that Kingdome) to be any part of the Churches afflictions; for this was revealed unto *S. Paul*, both for the *quality* and the *fall* thereof, *viz.* that Christ should destroy it, *ἐμπόρευε τὴν παρυσίαν αὐτοῦ*, which I make no doubt but *S. Paul* learned out of the seventh of *Daniel*, where that *russling horn* also is not destroyed untill the *Son of man comes in the clouds of heaven*, to receive that universall Kingdome, which shall never suffer persecution.

6. But whereas you say, that the *russling horne* of the fourth beast is *Antiochus Epiphanes*, I demonstrate the contrary by this one Argument.

The *russling horne* reigns untill the Ancient of daies comes in fiery flames to destroy him, and to give judgement unto the Saints of the most High; and untill the time comes that the Saints possessed the Kingdome, *viz.* untill the *Son of man comes in the clouds of heaven*, to receive a Kingdome wherein all Nations, People, and Languages should serve and obey him, *Daniel 7. verse 9, 10, 11, 13. expounded, ver. 22, 26. &c.*

But *Antiochus Epiphanes* reigned not untill this time, (for he died 160. yeers and more before the birth of Christ, and almost 200. yeers before his Ascension; the least of which numbers is a longer space of time, then was from the death of *Alexander* unto *Antiochus*.)

Ergo *Antiochus Epiphanes* is not that *russling horne*.

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The *changing of times and laws* (whereby the power of his *horne* is described) is an Orientall Phrase to expresse *potestatem αὐτοκρατορικὴν*. Nor are *times* here to be taken in so abstract a notion, but concretely, for *status rerum tempora variantium*, or *Res quibus variatur status temporum*, as *mutationes Rerumpub. & regiminis rerum*; *Times*, for things done in time; whereby the times are altered; such as are the alterations of States and Governments; according to which notion, *Dan. 2. 21.* it is said of God, that *he changeth times and seasons, he removeth Kings and setteth up Kings*. And *1 Chron. 29. 30.* that the acts of *David* were written in the books of *Samuel Nathan*, and *Gad*, *Seers*, with all his reigne, and his might, and the times that went over him, and over *Israel*, and all the kingdoms of the Countries. And whether the *Pope* (if, I say, he is that *horn*) took not upon him a power of changing such *times* as these, I shall not need to tell you. And yet take *times* in your own Notion, and it would make a shift to fit him, as well as *Antiochus*.

To your second Position.

The proof of your second Position; that the *fourth Beast*, *Dan. 7.* is not able sufficiently to expresse the *Roman Empire*, is in the mainest part *petitio principii*, wherein that is taken for granted, which is in question: for you take for granted, that the Type of the *Roman Empire* in the *Apocalyps* borrows his ten horns from *Daniels fourth Beast*, as a distinct Beast from it: But I say, he borrows them not, they are his own proper and native horns; *Daniels Beast* and he being one and the same Beast. I grant that

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the *Apocalyptical* Beast for the shape of his body is beholding to *Daniels* three first Beasts, but that he borroweth any from the fourth, I deny. Nor do horns, more or fewer, distinguish the *Species* of a Beast; for in the *Apocalyps* there is a *lambe with seven horns*. and a *lambe with two horns*, and yet for kinde a *lambe* still: So *Daniels* *he-goat* had first one horne, and afterward four horns, and yet the same goat still. &c.

The correspondence in number of the severall heads of *Daniels* four Beasts, put together with the seven heads of the *Apocalyptical* Beast is but casuall: Neither can it be proved, that the fourth of *Daniels* Beasts had but one head, as is here to be supposed: For the third Beast hath the four heads, and the other three but one apeece. For the mentioning of the *head* which bore the ten horns in the singular number, *verse 20.* proves no more it had but one head, then the mentioning of *mouth* likewise in the singular number, *Apoc. 13. ver. 2, 5, 6.* proves the *Apocalyp:icall* Beast had but one mouth. For indeed the ten horns were all upon one head, as well in the *Apocalyptical* Beast (*viz.* upon the seventh or uppermost head) as in *Daniels* Beast; and the mouth of the *Apocalyptical* Beast, was the mouth also of the seventh head, to act the state of which head *S. John* saw him rise out of the Sea, &c.

And whereas you speake of an insufficient expression of the *Roman* Empire by *Daniels* fourth Beast, you may perceive by that I have said before, that it would well enough agree with my

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Principles to grant it, my Tenet being, that the *fourth Beast* should not be so distinctly with all accoutrements revealed unto *Daniel*, as it was unto *S. John*; because the specification of the severall states and fates thereof was yet sealed and unrevealed. And the third Kingdome was not so distinctly revealed to *Daniel* in the *Leopard*, cap. 7. as it was two yeeres after to the same *Daniel* in the great *He-goat*, chap. 8. &c. The dispensation of God in these Revelations, is to be measured according to his pleasure, and the use of the Church, &c.

But it is now three a clock, and I have no more time. I had much rather confer of these things by word of mouth, wherein perhaps I could give better satisfaction. Conference by writing is wont to multiply it self into so much paper, as takes away a great deale of my time, and gives me no leasure to perfect that, whereby I might perhaps prevent a great part of the Objections which now are made. Thus hoping you will accept this tumultuary answer, I rest; commending your studies and endeavours to the Divine Blessing.

Your loving Friend

Christ Colledge,
June 17. 1629:

JOSEPH MEDD.

[Bb 2]

Mr. T. H.

Mr. T. H. his second Letter to Mr. Mede, about
severall Propheticall passages in *Daniel*,
and *Revelation*.

To the first T H E S I S . . .

BEfore *Christs* time all the East (as *Tacitus* saith,) expected a King to rule over the world; whence could this be, but from the expectation of the Jewes of the Kingdome, which was to spread over all the world after the ruine of the fourth beast in *Daniel*: and that they now saw the divided Kingdom of the Greeks after *Antiochus Epiphanes* his time decaying, and likely to be extinguished?

And in *Christs* time the faithfull (the rest were blinde guides not to be followed) beleeving *Christ* and the Apostles preaching the coming of the Kingdome of God, against which hell gates should not prevail, must necessarily conceive that the fourth Kingdom in *Daniel* was at the last cast, and therefore understand the fourth Kingdom to be the parted Greeks lately expiring in *Cleopatra*, her Brother *Ptolemy* or others, and not the Roman still flourishing, and not likely yet to fall: For the fourth Kingdome in *Daniel* was to fall before the setting up of the everlasting Kingdome of *Christ*. And if in *Christs* time the faithfull did conceive thus of the fourth Kingdom in *Daniel*; Then succeeding ages to those primitive times, so long as they retained a right judgement, were of the same mind.

The Jewes in after times went about to perswade that the Romans (calling them *Edom*) were the fourth kingdome in *Dan*: because they might be thought to hold

hold aright that Messias was not yet come, who should be the stone falling on the toes of the fourth kingdom. Eusebius and some others have fallen into this trap set by Jewes: seeing it is a course to harden Jewes against the true Messias already come, we shall do well to avoid it.

If you demand, why then did not Christ and the Apostles use this argument to prove him the true Messias? Object.

In effect they did. They preached that the Kingdome of God was at hand: The coming whereof implies the fall of the fourth Kingdome: And that was then ocular, and to bee understood of the Successours of Antiochus falling, not of the Romans flourishing; And seeing that in the preaching of Christs Kingdome, it was to be taught, that his Kingdom was not of this world (at which point the Jewes stumbled) Christs main argument was, The works which I do, they testify of me. Answ.

To the second T H E S I S.

You affirm that the Roman kingdom was revealed to Daniel, in imagine confusâ, but explicated to John by specification of the fates, and the order rerum gerundarum.

This cannot stand good.

For the fourth kingdom in Daniel is more particularly and distinctly set down, then any of the other three: And if the other three be not revealed in imagine confusâ, but fully enough for the specification of their fates, and the order of their acts; then much more the fourth kingdom; which is farre more amply in types and explication set out in Daniel.

[B b 3]

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Then secondly, It cannot be said to be set down in imagine confusa; for it is orderly, and in speciall manner handled; first, for the Originall; it rises out of the Sea: Then for the power; It is strong as iron, able to break in pieces and subdue all, Dan. 2. 40. It is fearfull, very strong, and hath ten horns. It hath iron teeth, and nails of brasse. In conclusion, it hath one little horn, that pulls away three of the former ten: It hath ten Kings, and one unlike the rest; It in the end shall be partly strong as Iron, partly weak as Clay. For stirres it should make, and the persecution brought on the Church thereby; It subdued and did break in pieces all things, as Iron bruise and breaketh all, Dan. 2. 40. It deuoures and breaks in pieces, and stamps the residue under feet. Dan. 7. 7. As the 10. horns doe mischief, so especially the little horn which made warre with the Saints, and prevailed against them, and consumed them: It waxed great: even to the host of heaven, and cast some of the host and the starres to the ground, and stamped on them. cap. 8. 10. It thought to alter times and lawes, cap. 7. 25. Then also (as you hold in your Explication of Dan. 11. verse 36. and after) the Roman kingdome is there prophesied of, that he should conquer Macedon, and every King and Nation should persecute, mock, and crucify Christ, and persecute Christians till Constantines time: Then the Pope should arise worshipping Dæmonia, and countenancing single life, shall not regard any God, but magnify himself above all, In the Seat and Temple of God, should worship Mahuzzims with gold, & with silver; and precious stones, and distribute the earth among his Mahuzzims; deal with Saracens and Turks, enter into Palestine, &c. cap. 11. Then for the blasphemy

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my of this kingdome, mention is made of the mouth speaking presumptuous things, cap. 7. 8. speaking against the most high, verse 25. and speaking marvellous things against the God of Gods, cap. 11. 36.

—The fall also of this kingdome is plainly expressed, cap. 2. 34 & 45. & cap. 7. 11. & 26. by being broken in pieces, and blowen as chaffe, by being destroyed and given to the fire, by perishing unto the end. Lastly, the time of this fourth kingdomes domineering, or at least of the chief violence of it is expressed, A time, times, and halfe a time, answerable to the time of the womans keeping from the Serpent, Apoc. 12. 14. Then the times of taking away the daily sacrifice, continues 2300. dayes.

Thus it is evident how particularly Daniel hath laid open the Originall, the Acts, the sufferings, and fall of the fourth kingdome in Daniel. And yet I have not brought all particulars. Hence it is manifest that this cannot be a generall deciphering of the Roman kingdome, but a particular description of some other kingdome, which fell before Christs time.

Here, now if you shall object that the beast, Dan. 7. doth shew the very same kingdome that is set out, Apoc. 13. because in Originall, and power and persecution, and fall, and time, it so much agrees with the same,

Object.

I answer, That God is unchangeable, and inflicts punishments alike on sinners alike, and expresses after-matters by words used in narrations of former matters of like nature; which much helps our weaknes for understanding of those depths. And therefore the Apocalypse is as it were made up with the Allusions, Metaphors, and formulæ loquendi, of the books of the old Testament: yet

Answ.

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doe not almost all the visions of the Apocal: (as one unjustly judges) handle imprimis Res Judæorum; but Res Christianorum, in the words of former Prophets: so we may expresse a matter that Tully never dreamed of in Tullies Phrases and Metaphors.

Then these beasts as they agree in many things, so they differ in many, in heads, mouth, paves, in one little horn, &c. but especially that the beast, Dan. 7. is destroyed before the setting up of Christs Kingdome over all the earth.

To the third T H E S I S.

I deny not but that a matter may be revealed in generall, and yet the particulars sealed: so all the persecutions of the Church are told in this, I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed: the particulars then sealed, are opened in the whole Bible. But you see above, that the fourth kingdom in Dan. is particularly described, and therefore that description cannot be a generall revealing of the Roman Empire: Especially seeing we are told that the Lamb slain was the revealer of them, and none before. We have also generall prophecies of the Romans persecuting Christ and his Church: As that Psal. 2. Why do the heathen rage? And that Dan. 9. Messiah shall be slain, and Jerusalem ruinated: But the Roman kingdom is there in no shape or form pictured; some other prophecies in generall Terms there may be of the Roman Empire, the particulars whereof (as you well say) are shewed to John, so that Daniels fourth kingdome particularly described cannot belong to them. Daniels book begins with Babels wasting the City Jerusalem, and ends with the utter overthrow of the City and Temple by the Romans

mans. After Jerusalem's overthrow in Domitian's time, Christ reveals to John what should befall to the Church to the end of the world: and here the Romans are fully and plainly painted out to us. -- Here you object.

But the Roman power had been long in the world, and was now past the $\alpha\mu\eta\eta$, and had fulfilled what it was to fulfill on Daniels people.

I answer, God in his book daigns not to meddle with the actions of kingdomes, otherwise then as they persecute his people, or favour them; or are instruments to punish them, or are punished for persecuting them. The Babylonians and Nebuchadnezzar did worthy deeds before the first captivity of Judah, which God passes over, and begins the count of Nebuchadnezzars reign from the first captivity. Cyrus and Darius were of good yeers, when they overthrew Babel, and had not spent their former yeers idly: their reign also is counted by God but from the overthrow of Babel, and rule over the Jewes. So what the Romans first did in Italy, afterward against Neighbour-nations, and then in diverse parts more remote, God passes over, and only foretels what they were to do against the Jewes falling from God, and how to kill the Messiah, Dan. 9. And then in Apoc. what they were to do against the Christian Church, or suffer for afflicting the same.

Nor had the Romans fulfilled what they were to fulfill on the Jewes, Daniels people, before the revelation to John: for ever since the overthrow of Jerusalem, the Jewes have been scattered and oppressed by the power and lawes of Rome in divers parts of Europe and elsewhere.

Object.

Ans.

To

To the fourth T H E S I S.

I wrote (or else it was lapsus pennæ) that the opening of seven Seals, and blowing seven Trumpets, were concerning Seven-headed Rome, that is, as either it persecuted the Saints, or was plagued for persecuting them; which I know you will grant. The persecution of the Saints of God is plain in other parts of the Revelation: Now seeing Daniel in all speeches of the everlasting Kingdome never mentions any persecutors of it, and their carriages and falls, but the persecutions of Daniels people the Jews, and not the Christian Church; It seems evident to me, that he meddles not with the Roman Empires doings after the destruction of Jerusalem, or the Popes doings long after that.

The consummatio Mysterii Dei prout annuntiavit servis suis prophetis, The finishing of the Mystery of God, as he hath shewn to his servants the Prophets, proves not that the Roman matters were foretold to the ancient Prophets. The words Apoc. 10. 7. are ὁ εὐαγγελισατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς τὴν προφητίαν, which construction intimates the glad tidings of the Gospel since Christ, brought to the present Prophets or Preachers of the times from Christ: so the speech of Gods Servants the Prophets is understood, Rev. 22. 9.

To the fifth T H E S I S.

The Romans persecuting the Christian Church, was revealed to none till Christ revealed them to John, namely, so as that the Romans were plainly decyphered, and by evident marks distinguished to be the nation spoken of. The coming of false Prophets was foretold Mat. 24. the Man of Sin and his consuming, 2 Thess. 2. but there was nothing to shew of what People and Nation
and

and City he should be. What knowledge soever Paul had of these things concerning Romes persecution of the Church, he may well be said to have it by Revelation from Christ, Gal. 2. 12. the opener of this little book. There is no circumstance of the ruffling Horn Dan. 7. which could teach Paul that the Romans were the fourth Beast, Daniel 7. for any thing that I know.

Coming in the Clouds, Dan. 7. is not to the last Judgement at Doomsday, but Christs coming to take the Kingdome which he preached to be at hand, of all power being given to him. The phrase of coming in the Clouds, is borrowed from the Cloud in the Wildernesse, and Gods presence in the Cloud on the Tabernacle often; intimating Gods defence and direction of his Church. See Isa. 4. 5. most pertinent to this sense. The heathen have the like phrase, Iliad 6 God is present to Diomedes, νεφέλῃ ἐκλυμένον ὤμους, and Virg. 7. Æn. Pater omnipotens—radiis ardentem lucis & auro Ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab æthere nubem. When Jupiter came to assist Æneas now to settle in Italy.

It is not said of the Universal Kingdome in Dan. that it should never suffer persecution; but that it never should be destroyed: because 'tis built on the Rock Christ, no power shall prevail against it. That it should never be destroyed, implies that it should be impugned: But how in these later Times, John in the Apoc. shews from Christ.

To the sixth T H E S I S.

I answer to the assumption, That Antiochus Epiphanes whom God suffered much to prevail against the Jews,

Jewes, reigned till God came to destroy him by his own hand, as irresistible as fire; For destruction by fire in Scripture is an high Metaphor, and expresseth often irresistible destruction. After Epiphanes's death (who was the last hot persecutor) God gave often victory to the Jewes against the Greeks, which verifies that in the Greeks, which was typed in the feet, part of Iron to break the Jewes, part of Clay not able to harm others or defend themselves: and so much the weaker were those feet, because the Iron and Clay could not be mixt together to strengthen each other. God now shewed himselfe favourable to the Jewes, and gave judgement or defence to them, partly by their own valours, partly by the Romans interposing themselves as friends. Now the throne of the Ancient of dayes was set, and the Jewes had defence (till Christs time) from the weak Greeks.

And now the Romans having an inch given them take an ell, and usurp authority over the Jewes: and with them kill Christ the Messiah: But Christ overcame death, and had all power in heaven and in earth given him. Mat. ult. This his kingdom we acknowledge in our prayers, and the Church celebrates, Apoc. 5. by the voyce of all such as were made Priests and Kings to reign on the earth, even such as were gathered out of all nations, tongues and kindreds.

That which you adde about times put for things done in time, is very true, for the signification of the Phrase, when it comes alone in diverse places: But here changing of times and lawes goe together. Antiochus Epiphanes his dealings wonderfully agree to this. 1 Mac. 1. 43. He would make every one leave his lawes:

lawes : he forbids burnt-offering and sacrifice , *verse*
47. He commands the books of the Law to bee
burnt, verse 60. He slew the Jewes for circumci-
sing their children, ver. 63. He puts down their laws,
2 Macc. 4. 10. & 6. 1; 2. He uses threats and cru-
elty , then flattery to make them forsake the law,
2 Macc. 7. All these stirres grew from the Greeks
attempting to make them leave the Lawes , 1 Mac. 6.
59. Then Epiphanes his attempt to alter times is
clear in his command to put down the Sabbathis and
Feasts , and his making them to keep Bacchus Feasts.
2 Mac. 6. 7.

To the seventh T H E S I S.

The fourth beast, Dan. 7. and the first beast, Revel.
13. are not one and the same : They differ much in shape
of body, and in their acts, and in their falls and plagues.
Besides, that in the Apoc. is made as it were of all the
four in Daniel, and is so described as if it came in
stead, and was comparable to them all, as indeed it was.

Hornes more or lesse distinguish not a beast ; that in-
firms not what I said. By the way onely I here ob-
serve : That the beast with seven horns was a Lamb
indeed ; that is Christ. The beast Apoc. 13. with two
hornes , had these two horns like a lambs , but in truth
he might be a wolfe.

Seeing it is not said that Daniels fourth beast had four
heads, (therein I mistook in my former writing) it is to
be presumed he had but one , as beasts usually have no
more ; except in vision for expression of some speciall
matter , more heads be attributed to them. The third
beast, Dan. 7. had four heads. The number of which four
heads, with the three heads of the other three beasts, fits so
well

well with Johns beast, besides the resemblance to the Lion, Bear, Leopard, that I beleeve it cannot be casuall, especially seeing it is in Gods book.

Concerning that you say of mouth put singularly, I answer that the beast Apoc. 13. had seven heads with names of blasphemy: This will imply that each had a mouth, and that is a blasphemous mouth which is more. Besides the very nomination of head implies a mouth, and seven heads, seven mouths. And whereas there is mention of a mouth given the beast, verse 5. me thinks that should intimate the extremity of blasphemy proceeding from the seventh head beyond all the rest.

Whereas you say the third kingdome in Dan. was not so distinctly revealed, cap. 7. as afterwards cap. 8. That is true. And further I adde, That in visions by prophecies God hath spoken *πολυμερῶς*, and revealed things to come by parts, so that severall visions or prophecies laid together, make up the whole. In each of Daniels visions something is passed over to be supplied by the rest. In the second Chapter there is nothing to type Alexanders four chief Captains, nor is it told what people should be trod on by the Iron legs. In cap. 7. the Exposition of the three former kingdoms very brief, the Exposition of the fourth very large. The weaknesse of Antiochus his Successors is unexpressed. In cap. 8. nine of the horns coming out of Alexanders Captains are passed over, and the little horn fully set out. The kingdome of Christ over all Nations is not spoken of at all. These things thus passed over, are supplied by the rest: so it is in the Revelation, The afflicting of Gods Church is diversly expressed, and the afflictors thereof, and the afflicted by them.

For

For that no one Vision, but the severall Visions laid together, do give us a perfect and whole delineation of what was to come from that time to the end of the World.

M^r Medes Answer to M^r T.H. his second Letter, about severall Prophetical Passages in Daniel and Revelation.

S I R,

I Received yours at the Commencement: Wherein I found if I should answer to every part, I should have as many questions to dispute, as I sent you *Theses*: The experience of which multiplications in that kinde, makes me so backward in Collations by writing. So that I can with much more patience endure to be contradicted, then be drawn to make reply. But all this time the truth is, I had no leisure, nor yet have, and am presently also to go into the Countrey, where I shall stay some weeks, and have no opportunity to write. That I might not therefore in the mean time, seem too much to neglect you, I have caused a Scholar of yours to write out something I had by me in a Paper long ago written, wherein you may further see my opinion, and some part of the grounds thereof.

When I return, and have more leisure, I shall answer to what I finde principall in your replies; but not to what is circumstantiall, for so the businesse would grow too tedious for my pen: In the mean time I would desire you to beleeve that I have read the

the most that hath or can be said for that opinion, either by the chief Patrons thereof, *Broughton* and *Junius*, or their followers, *Polanus*, *Piscator*, *Dr. Willet*; and that whilst I was yet free, and first began with these kinde of studies, and yet found nothing that could in the least measure perswade me to be of their minde; and I see now that the modern Writers, and even some of their Scholars, return to the ancient opinion, and forsake their Masters in this point. This I speak not to boast of my reading in this controversie, but to shorten your Discourses which you may send hereafter, you shall need but touch, and spare the labour of so much enlargement. But a word or two to your Reply.

Whereas you say the ground of the expectation of the coming of Christ when he came, was the fall or expiration of the fourth Kingdome, I utterly deny it. The ground was the neer expiration of *Daniels 70 weeks*, concurring with the ἀρχή of the fourth kingdome, the *Roman*; during which, his kingdome was to be first revealed, and at the end of which consummated. Besides, I acknowledge no place in this account of kingdoms, for the *Greeks* after *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when the holy Ghost expressly placeth the end of that kingdome, much lesse will admit *Cleopatra* to prolong it, and that too after the *Romans* had subdued *Judaea*.

You mistake my answer, that the *Roman* or fourth kingdome was revealed to *Daniel*, in *imagine confusa*. For I meant it neither absolutely, as if it had no distinction in its description, nor in comparison with the former three, then which in that place it is more

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particular and distinct. But I meant it was *in imagine confusâ*, in respect of those distinct States and times thereof; which were revealed unto *S. John*, and not unto *Daniel*: That it was confused in comparifon of that which was more particular of the same subject: As is *Daniels* description of the second & third Beast in the seventh Chapter, compared with that more particular description of the same in the eighth and eleventh Chapters.

Whereas you say the *Jews* since Christ brought in this opinion of the *Roman* to be the fourth kingdom, that so they might the better maintain their expectation of *Messiah* yet to come, because that kingdome was yet in being; I say it was affirmed by whosoever first affirmed it, without all ground, authority, or probability; the contrary also being easie to be proved, *viz.* that the *Jews* were of this opinion before our Saviour came, as appears in *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, and by the fourth book of *Esdras*, which whatsoever the authority thereof be, is sufficient to prove this, being written by a *Jew* (for it is, saith *Picus*, the first of their seventy books of *Cabala*) and before our Saviours coming, as appears by many passages of *Messiah* expected, and yet to appear within four hundred yeers after that supposed time of *Esdras*: Certainly he that wrote it, meant no hurt to *Christians*, as will easily appeare to him that reads it, and finds the Name *Jesus*, and so often mention of *the Son of God*. Which I note, in case you should rather think it written after Christ. If it were, it was certainly by a Christian. The ancient mention thereof is by

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Clemens Alexandrinus, Anno 200. though I know some body affirms the first mention thereof is by *S. Ambrose*, two hundred yeers after, *sed fallitur*. Yet I take not the book to be *Canonically Scripture*.

As for the Christian Doctors, it is well known that both *Iustin Martyr*, within 30. yeers of *S. Johns* death, and *Irenaeus* were of this opinion, and knew no other amongst Christians, and yet they both lived and conversed with the Apostles immediate Disciples, and the latter of them brought up at *Polycarpus's* feet, who was *S. John's* Disciple, and could relate to *Irenaeus* (as himself saith) what *S. John* was wont to do and speak. Therefore *Eusebius* was not worth the naming, as caught with this trap, seeing it cannot be proved, that ever any Christian before him, nor after him, till after *S. Hieroms* time, held the contrary, and then too was soon checked, and not heard of again till the last *Saeculum*.

But as for the opinion you would perswade to, it was first broached by *Porphyrie*, an enemy of Christ, to the end he might prove the Prophecy of *Daniel* counterfeit, and written about the time of the *Maccabees*, soon after the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and so prophesied nothing but *ab eventu*, as meaning by the fourth kingdome the *Seleucide*, &c. not the *Roman*. See *S. Hierome* upon those Chapters of *Daniel* 7. & 11. and you will admire the Expositions and evasions of *Porphyrie* should be the same almost, yea in circumstances, with those of *Junius* &c. But *S. Hierome* in his time, knew no Christian that had been of that opinion. Let any man shew as much for what you affirm of the Jews, as insinuations of this opinion.

opinion in *praedictum fidei Christianae*.

The four kingdoms in *Daniel* are twice revealed; first, to *Nebuchadnezzar*, in a glorious Image of four sundry Metals: Secondly, to *Daniel* himself, in a Vision of four divers Beasts, arising out of the Sea. The intent of both is, by that succession of kingdoms, to point out the time of the *kingdom of Christ*, which no other kingdom should succeed or destroy. *Nebuchadnezzars* Image of Monarchies, *Daniel* 2. points out two States of the kingdom of Christ; the first to be while the times of those kingdoms of the Gentiles yet lasted, typified by a stone hewen out of a Mountain without hands, the Monarchicall Statue yet standing upon his feet; the second not to be untill the utter destruction and dissipation of the Image, when the stone having smote it upon the feet, should grow into a great mountain, which should fill the whole earth. The first may be called for distinction sake, *Regnum lapidis*, the *kingdome of the stone*; which is, the state of Christs kingdom, which hitherto hath been: The other, *Regnum Montis*, the *kingdom of the mountain*, (that is, of the stone grown into a mountain, &c.) which is, the state of his kingdom which hereafter shall be. The *Intervallum* between these two, from the time the stone was first hewen out, (that is, the kingdom of Christ was first advanced) untill the time it became a mountain (that is, when the mysterie of God shall be finished) is the subject of the *Apocalyptical Visions*.

Note here, first, that the stone is expounded by *Daniel* to be that *lasting kingdome*, which the God of Heaven should set up. Secondly, that the Stone was

[C c 2]

hewen

This Discourse of the four Monarchies, is called the A.B.C. of Prophecies

Rev. 10. 7.

hewen out of the *Mountain*, before it smote the *Image* upon the feet, and consequently before the *Image* was dissipated; and therefore that the *Kingdome* typified by the *Stone*, while it remained a *Stone*, must needs be within the times of those Monarchies; that is, before the last of them (*viz.* the *Roman*) should expire: Wherefore *Daniel* interprets, *ver* 44. That in the daies of these kingdoms (not after them, but while some of them were yet in being) the God of heaven should set up a kingdom, which should never be destroyed nor left (as they were) to another people, but should break in peeces and consume all those kingdoms, and it self should stand for ever. And all this he speaks as the interpretation of the stone; Forasmuch (saith he) as thou sawest that a stone was cut out of a Mountain without hands; and that it brake in peeces the iron, the brasse, the clay, the silver, and the gold. Here make the full point; for these words belong not to that which follows (as our Bibles by mis-distinguishing seem to refer them,) but to that which went before of their interpretation. But the stone becoming a Mountain, he expounds not, but leaves to be gathered by what he had already expounded.

In *Daniel's* Vision of *four* Beasts, *Dan* 7. the same kingdoms of the *Gentiles* are typified, which were in the former of *Nabuchadnezzars* Image; namely, the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, *Greek* and *Roman*. Onely *Nabuchadnezzars* Image pointed out both states of *Christs* Kingdome, first *Lapidis*, then *Montis*. But *Daniel's* Vision of *four* Beasts omits the first (which was to be while the fourth Beast yet lived) and designs the last onely, when that *ruffling horns* time being

ing finished, and the Beast destroyed, *The ancient of daies gives the Son of man a kingdome, wherein all nations, tongues and people should serve and obey him, Dan. 7. 13.* The reason: *Nabuchadnezzar*, a Gentile, was a type of the Gentiles, who were to have their part in both estates of Christs kingdome; wherefore both are shewen him. *Daniel*, a Jew, was a type of the Jews, whose nation should have no share in the first, but onely in the last, and therefore the last is onely shewen him.

This *universall kingdome* of the Son of man revealed in the clouds of heaven, which *Daniel* here saw, and which the Angell expounds to be the *kingdome of the Saints of the most high*, is the same with that voiced in the *Apocalyps*, upon the sound of the seventh Trumpet, *All the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.* Compare them.

Rev. 11. 15.

Whence it will follow, that those finishing times of the *fourth Beast*, called a *Time, Times, and half a Time*, during which that wicked *Horne* should domineer and ruffle it amongst his ten kings, are the self-same time which the Angell in *S. Iohn* forewarneth *should be no longer*, as soon as the seventh Angel began to sound, *chap. 10. 6.* Those very times, whose finishing the same Angel swears unto *Daniel* (in the same form and gesture he doth to *S. Iohn*) should be the period of those wondrous afflictions of the Church; and of the *scattering of the power of the holy people*, *Dan. 12. 7.* And consequently, those very times of the Gentiles, whereof our Saviour speaks, *Luk. 21. 24.* that the treading down of *Jerusalem*,

[Cc 3] and

and dispersion of the *Jews* should last, *untill the times of the Gentiles were finished*: Even the same times whereof *Tobit* harped; *cap. ult.* That notwithstanding *Judah* should again after a while return and build a second Temple, yet should not the universall restitution be, nor *Israel* return from all places of their captivity, *ἕως ὡς ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τοῖς τῷ αἰῶνι* Ⓞ, *untill the times of that Age be fulfilled.* Lastly, the same times with *S. Johns* Apocalyptical times of the renewed Beasts blasphemous reign, and profanation of the Temple and City of God forty two moneths, or 1260. days; forasmuch as the same kingdom of our Lord Christ is the immediate and common consequent to them all. Compare them.

When *Daniels* times are done, the Son of man comes in the clouds of heaven, to receive the Empire of all the Kingdoms of the world, *Dan. 7. 14.* When *S. Lukes* times of the *Gentiles* are finished, * then shall be signs in the Sun and Moon; the Son of man comes also in the clouds of heaven, *ver. 27.* the redemption of *Israel*, *ver. 28.* and the kingdom of God is at hand, *ver. 31.*

When *S. Johns* Apocalyptical Beasts forty two moneths reign, with the *Witnesses* 1260. daies mourning, determine, the Ark of the Covenant is seen in heaven, and all the kingdoms of the world become the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ, *Apocal. 11. 25. ad finem.*

The first coming of Christ was to be while the fourth kingdom was yet in being; his second, when it should end: The hewing of the stone out of the mountain; (which is the rearing of the kingdom of Christ)

* For *ἕως*, *v. 25.* is, Then shall be signs; so the Hebrews use that copulative, and the Greek Testament with them.

Christ) was before it smote the Image upon the feet, and upon the destruction thereof became so great a *Mountain*, as filled the whole earth. Therefore the hewing out of this *stone* was while this Image was yet in being.

Daniel himself interprets the *stone* to be the kingdom of Christ, (not Christ himself) and saies that the God of heaven should set it up *in the daies of those kings, or kingdoms*, that is, *adhuc currente horum regum periodo, vel diebus Tetrarchia hujus nondum expletis*, whilest the daies of those kingdoms of the *Gentiles* yet lasted, or before they expired; namely, whilest the last of those kingdoms was still current & in being. He that shall here expound [*in the daies*] to mean *after the daies*, shall give me leave not to beleeeve him, unlesse also he can perswade me, that the *stone* which smote the Image was hewed out of the *mountain*, after the Image was dashed in peeces and vanished.

The *Jews* in our Saviours time expected the *Messiahs* coming before the times of the fourth kingdom expired. For they looked it should be destroyed by him after he was come, and then the kingdom restored to *Israel*. According to that of *Dan. 7.* when the Beast should be slain and his body destroyed, the kingdom should be given to the people of the Saints of the most high. Onely they thought not the distance between the first coming of Christ, and his destruction of the fourth Beast, to be so long. Whence was that question of the Apostles to our Saviour at his ascension, *Wilt thou now restore the kingdom to Israel?*

But I am gone much further then ever I intended, and therefore will here make an end. I make questi-

[C c 4] on

on whether you can reade my scribling ; if you can, I hope you will excuse my hast. And so I commend you to the divine protection, and am

Christ's Coll. July 22.

Your loving Friend,

Joseph Mede.

M: T. H. his third Letter to Mr. Mede, about
severall passages in *Daniel* and the
Revelation.

SIR,

I Confesse that conference by writing multiplies words; by giving more scope to deliberation: and may justly make you backward to Collations in this kinde: But the disquisition and finding of truth countervails all; then which, I seek nothing more by this my pains. To that part of your Answer, received July 22. I have inclosed a Reply; and expect the rest of your Answer formerly intended, when you should return to Cambridge: and now to this present Reply, as your occasions will permit. Such writings as I have seen of yours, testifie to me both your plentiful reading, and diligent observation of matters most remarkable therein; as also (I am perswaded) in this argument: Yet cannot all that yet you have said, drive me from my hold. I reverence the learned on both sides, and will ever give them all due respect; and will not be found to stand single in any opinion. But the persons of men shall not sway me against the native light of the sacred Text, which I know makes for me. If Al-

sted.

sted and some others have left their Masters in some of these points; I think we shall finde others (as Glassius) of equall judgement to Allsted, to run this way. But tis to be considered herein, not so much Qui dicunt pro aut contra, as Quid dicant. And therefore I will not put into the scales ~~mea~~ Authority, but their Reasons: And hope that after your perusall of this present Reply, you will be more inclinable to a different judgement from some of your former Tenents. And thus leaving you to the protection and direction of the God of truth, I rest,

Q. Rob. 8. 1629. from Christs:
Hospitall, London.

Your very loving friend,
Tho. Hayne.

THe ground of the expectation of the coming of Christ and his kingdome, was (say you) the neer expiration of Daniels seventy weeks.

The expectation of Simeon, Anna, and others, of the Magi, and them of the East, was seventy yeers before the end of Daniels seventy weeks, according to your opinion. For you hold that the seventy weeks end at Jerusalems overthrow, which was after Christs birth seventy yeers. Therefore it could not be any mark for the looking for Christ. At the end of the seventy weeks, according to your judgement, the City and Sanctuary was to be destroyed, sacrifice ended, and desolation brought on the Jews; therefore the seventy weeks (according to your Tenet) is a mark of other matters; not of Christs or the Saints kingdome, but rather of Vespasians, as Josephus saith, which ensued just upon the end of the seventy weeks.

Repl.

Bel. Ind..
7.12.

But

But in truth, Daniels seventy weeks end at Christs death, and seeing Christ was expected to be King of the Jews, all that truly kept account of the seventy weeks, might rightly conceive that Christ about thirty yeers before the expiration of the seventy weeks should be born; and so about thirty yeers old, (which are yeers fit for publick charge) should enter upon that Kingdome. Of this reason I forbore to write formerly, because I saw, that we should differ about the beginning and end of Daniels seventy weeks, which would bring on a new controversie between us.

That Christs Kingdome was (as you affirm) to be revealed in the ἀρχὴ of the fourth Kingdome, I see no Text that proves it; nor that Christs Kingdome should be consummated at the end of the Roman Kingdome. At the end of the fourth Kingdome in Daniel, it was to begin cap. 7. And that it was perfected in Christ Jesus is evident, for he overcame the devil, death, hell, and all; and teaches that all power is given him in heaven and earth; that all things bow to him, and that he led captivity captive. Further, I have good ground for to say, that the extirpation of the fourth Kingdome was one sure mark of Christs coming, and his Kingdome: For that onely is the mark of the same, cap. 2. and 7. where that Kingdome is mentioned.

You will not admit the Greeks any rule after Antiochus Epiph. death, because the holy Ghost ends their kingdome in him.

I say the holy Ghost ends the domineering violence and persecution of the Saints in him; but there were to be clayie feet after him. Stories shew that many kings of the Greeks ruled after him: And in the end Cleopatra, a
woman

woman (as Josephus saith) of chief Nobility in those times; even Cæsar at first umpired between her and her brother, in matters of difference between them; she had the revenue of Jericho and Arabia, and other parts, she killed all her kinred that might stand in her way, and desired Anthonie to do the like by them of chief blood in Syria, that she in right of the Greeks might have all; she, with the rest after Epiphanes, were sufficient to expresse the clayie legs. And that rule is sufficient, and all that I stand for.

Joseph. 15.
5.
Xipbil.

Joseph.
Bell. 2. 13.

Besides, the Stone as cut out (not as growing to a mountain) is to fall on the toes: so that if by the legs the Romans be understood, Christ was not to come in their *αἶμα*, but at their fall. Evident it is, that Christs kingdome took place (as frequent mention of it in the new Testament shews) at his first coming, and so began at the beginning of the Roman persecutions, not at the *αἶμα* of them, they were abundant and manifold afterward. The *αἶμα* of their Empire hath nothing to do here.

You hold still that the Roman kingdome was revealed to Daniel, but not according to the distinct fates and times, as to John: I shewed that the fourth kingdome in Daniel, was revealed to him most distinctly, for the originall, proceeding, strength, acts, persecution, sufferings, fall: all the same are revealed to John about the Roman kingdome. Now if they should both speak of the Roman kingdome but in these points, how could it be true in John, that this Book was opened by none (as you limit it according to the distinct fates) before by Christ? therefore the limitation proponded by you cannot hold.

I say

I say not, that the Jews after the Apostles times brought in, or invented the opinion, that the Romans were Daniels fourth kingdom, but that they endeavoured to perswade it. Whoever were the broachers of it, Jonathan Ben Uziel, or any other, surely some of their stamp. And the rather they then did, and now do perswade to it, because some Christians by assenting to them, give them advantage therein.

If Porphyrie, an enemy to Christians, overcome by the evidence of truth, confessed it; that is a greater confirmation of the truth. The devil confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, though the devil be a lier commonly, yet now he spake that which was most true. Besides, in S. Jerome it appears, that Porphyrie was not alone in that opinion, but that divers others held the same. And in the eleventh chapter S. Jerome goes along with Porphyrie in most things; but addeth this, that Antichrist and his doings were there typed. And in points in which S. Jerome crosseth Porphyrie, his arguments are sometime but his own bare assertion, sometimes weak, if you please to set the best edge on them that may be, we will try them. And Porphyrie had Suctorius his Author.

S. Jer. in
Dan. c. 11.

To the writing in a different hand.

You hold Christs kingdom to be double; first, Regnum lapidis, while the times of the foure kingdoms lasted.

I say, it cannot be in the time of the three former kingdoms; for it was preached by Christ and the Apostles to be at hand in the time of the Romans: Antiochus Epiphanes his time, whom you make last of the Greeks, being past well neer, or full hundreds of years before.

before. Besides, I object, That if Christs kingdome be set up in the fourth kingdoms time, it must be set up in the three formers time also. For it confounded the gold, silver, brasse, iron, as well as fell on the clayie legs. Again, if you make the stone to continue a stone from Christs time till ours, and some yeers after (God knows how long) to smite the feet of the Image, you will make the legs and feet of the Image above 1600. yeers long, three times and more as long as all the body.

The second kingdome of Christ you hold to be regnum montis, that shall fill the whole earth, to arise when the Image shall be utterly destroyed. First, I say, this division of Christs kingdome is no where in Scripture plainly expressed, though this kingdome be most frequently handled. If such a thing had been, it would in one place or other, in the various handling of it, have been plainly taught.

Secondly, The stone spreads it self over the whole earth presently; their sound is gone into all lands: There were at Pentecost devout men of all nations under heaven, who (the Spirit inabling them extraordinaryly) might carry the Gospel into all parts.

The mysterie you speak of, I conceive not: I am sure of this, that the stone, ch 2. which became a mountain, is the same with Christ and his kingdome, chap. 7. Nor do I conceive how Nebuchadnezzar is a type of the Gentiles, or Daniel of the Jews: But I am sure, that the Jews in good measure had part in regno lapidis, as you call it: For the Apostles and many other Christians were Jews, and Paul is told that (not many thousands onely, as some Translations have it, but) many Myriads of Jews beleevcd, Act. 21. 20. therefore you hold amisse, that

that the Jews had not part, in *regno lapidis*.

Isocrat.

The universall kingdome of Christ (say you) is the same in Daniel and the Apocalyps; this is most true. Further, I say this was begun by Christ, when he saith, All power is given to me, &c. go teach and baptize all nations; and so Christ wills that out of all nations subjects should be gathered to him. Καὶ τὸ το εἰ μὴ πανταχὺ κηρύσσαιεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε ἐβλήμεν τὴ πολυτείας ἔστι, and if in nations where the Gospel was preached, many assented not, Christ told us, that many be called, few chosen.

Alsted.

So then that which you hold will follow, doth not follow; seeing that the ground-work of it is not sound, especially seeing the universall kingdome of a thousand years (by Justin Martyr held, but then contradicted, as he saith, and had he seen what the length of time since hath given us to see, he would, I am perswaded, have been of another minde) and the arguments for it, though brought in scores, will prove but light, if they come to examination.

To the Appendix.

The first coming of Christ (say you) was while the fourth kingdome in Daniel was yet in being, because the stone was heven out of the mountain, before it smote the Image on the feet.

But I say, the whole Image was standing in the vision, while the stone was cut out. So by the same reason, the first coming of Christ, and the raising of his kingdome, should be during the times of the kingdoms of the whole Image; for the stone, as it fell on the feet, so it did break all to peeces, the iron, brasse, clay, silver, gold. The truth is, that Christs coming and kingdome was at
the

the end of the Image, and ruine of the foure Beasts; yet did the Stone, that is, Christ (so Just. Mart. and others take it) as he was God, destroy them all by his Instruments; that is, Babel by the Medes and Persians, and those by the Greeks, the Greeks by their own discords, and by judgement given to the Saints in the Maccabees times, and the Romans interposing as friends and associates, not as chief parties.

And for any sound reason that I know we have to the contrary, we may say that the Stone was cut out of the mountain after the ruine of the whole Image, in the fulfilling of the vision, though not in Daniels sight of it. For you will grant, that it was cut out after the fall of the three former kingdoms, and yet did break the gold, silver, and brasſe, by his instruments, and so might also break the iron and clay, though it rose after the fall of the fourth kingdome. The reason is alike of both, for as it is said to fall on the toes of the one, so also it is said to break the rest.

In the daies of those kings, or kingdoms, Dan. 2. *Object.*
This is the great argument against me.

To it I answer, that if the words be taken in their strict force, they intimate the daies of Babel, Persians, and Greeks also (and not of the fourth kingdome only) which you will not grant. And if אחרי signifie after the daies of some of those kingdoms, (as you cannot but grant) why not of the rest also? Besides, you know the Hebrew particles be exceeding various in their signification; and hardly any particle more then this. Again, the force of it must be sometimes (after) see Exod. 1. 11. and 7. 23. especially, $\text{ביתים הרבים ההם וימת מלך}$ after many daies, or in prolesse of time; But (in many daies the

Answ.

the

the king died) cannot stand good : let it not then seem strange, that γ may signifie after.

The Jews expected a right in the time of Christs preaching the kingdome promised in Dan. because the 70 weeks were within two or three yeers at an end, and the Greeks ruinated ; But their error was, that they expected, that Christ should have a terrene kingdome: And if any conceived, that Christ in his own person should overthrow outwardly the fourth kingdome, therein they erred : For Christ tells them plainly, that his kingdome is not of this world, (which Solomon found a map of vanity) that the kingdome of God is within them : A kingdome far beyond all promises in phraes of an outward kingdome. If they had knowne as much as we, (thanks be to God) doubtesse they would have thought the time long, that Christ should then be come, and now 1629. yeers asier, the beast not yet destroyed, nor the kingdome restored; and that the fourth beast should have thrice as much time as the other three beasts, according to your Tenet.

Not the Pharisees onely, Luke 17.20. but the Apostles, Acts 1.6. enquire about the restoring of the kingdome to Israel : This was because they saw the fourth beast slain and destroyed ; namely, the Greeks ; for the Romans now flourished. It may be, that they not conceiving how the Saints could have a kingdome, and the Romans not be subdued, might make some of them stagger, and be in doubt whether the Romans were not the fourth. Christs answers laid together, might have made them see the spirituall kingdome, and lay hold of that, and not expect a terrene.

Octob.8. 1629.

Mr. Medes

*Mr. Medes Answer to Mr T.H. his third Letter, about
severall Propheticall Passages in Daniel and
Revelation,*

S I R,

I Received yours not till yesterday: Whereby I perceive you have more confidence to convince me by this kinde of discoursing, then I have you: For I confesse freely, I finde you so well settled in your opinion, that I have no hope to alter you; and yet neverthelesse am as strongly perswaded of the truth of mine own Tenet, notwithstanding all you have said, as ever I was before we began; and for all this, am as willing to embrace truth, where I see evidence for it, as most men, so far as I can judge of my selfe by experience of my alteration in some points formerly embraced. Thus much I answer to the close of your Letter; where you say, you hope that by the perusall of your Reply, I will be more inclinable to a different judgement from my former Tenets.

Mr. *Hains*, though I can reasonably well perswade my self of many things I beleeve, yet had I never so much confidence in me, as to be able to perswade another of a contrary judgement, if he were once studied and settled therein, which made me so unwilling at the first to enter the Lists with you in this kinde, where I could expect no other fruit, but the losse of much time and pains to no purpose. The wit of man is able, where it is perswaded, to finde shifts and answers untill the day of doom, as appeares in so differing opinions held amongst Christians, with so much and so endlesse pertinacity

[D d]

pertinacity on both sides. It is sufficient therefore for a man to propound his opinion, with the strongest evidence and arguments he can, and so leave it. Truth will be justified of her children. But of these reciprocations of discourse in writing, wherein you place so much benefit for discovery of truth, I have often heard and seen truth lost thereby, but seldom or never found.

I finde by your last Reply, that you and I differ so far, and in so many principles, needfull for the discovery of the truth of this question, that all the time I have for my private studies, would be wholly taken up in attending this dispute, if I should go on still therewith. I have had some experience once before, that it is a tenacious piece, where it hath taken hold. I would not be entangled again, and therefore desire, with your good leave, to give it over, till opportunity of meeting together, where I should be able to talk with far more ease then I can write. I professe unto you, I contemn not your discourses, but do diligently and *apud conscientiam meam*; weigh your arguments, howsoever it comes to passe I am not perswaded by them. But I cannot finde time for such a collation; and besides, am unwilling to put all in writing, which I would utter in a private and personall discourse. I will say a word or two to your last, but without expectation you should reply again.

1. The opinion of the seventy weeks expiration is not mine, but *Scaliger's*, and divers other learned mens, and amongst the rest *Junius*, who otherwise for the *Monarchies* is yours. For my self, howsoever in the seventy weeks I have yet followed *Scaliger*, yet

yet I had a private way to make the 62. weeks to point out our Saviours baptisme. Howsoever for the *Jews* expectation of *Messiah*, it was enough to know in what age he was to come, though not precisely the year.

2. I shall never beleieve, but all those places of the Son of mans *coming* and appearing in the *clouds of heaven*, mentioned in the Gospels and in the *Apoc. c. 1. 7.* are the same with that *coming* of the Son of man *in the clouds*, prophesied by *Daniel* at the extinction of the fourth beast, *c. 7.* and that the holy Ghost in the new Testament hath reference thither, both for words and meaning. If this be so, you know what follows.

3. I say not, the *Greeks* ruled not after *Antiochus Epiphanes*, but that the holy Ghost accounts that kingdom no longer in the Monarchicall reckoning, and so follows the story of their kings no further then *Epiphanes*, from thenceforth the *Roman* having now conquered *Greece*, was to take place.

4. I deny not, but firmly beleieve, that *Christs kingdom* took place at his first coming. But I utterly deny that to be the *kingdome* our Saviour prophesies of *Luk. 21. 31.* and answerably in the other Gospels, or that whereof *S. Paul* speaks, *2 Tim. 4. 1. I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and dead, at his appearing and his kingdom;* or that foretold in the *Apocalypse* to be when the seventh Trumpet shall sound, and the like places.

5. Unlesse it can be shewen me, that the six seals, seven trumpets, seven vials, the treading down of the Temple, two witnesses, their slaughter and resurrection, the red dragons persecution, &c. were *in specie*

[D d 2]

revela-

revealed to *Daniel*, I will still hold those *fates* of the *Roman* kingdome were sealed, and not revealed to *Daniel*, though the *Roman* Monarchy were revealed to him.

6. The ancient *Jews* did, but the latter *Jews* hold not the *Roman* to be the fourth kingdome, but the *Mahumetan* and the *Roman*, to be a continuation of the third.

7. What I alledged of *Porphyrie* for yours, was to shew the injustice of your disparaging mine, as being held by *Jews*, who yet when they first held it, were the only people of God, and *Custodes oraculorum Dei*; if *Porphyrie* might see a truth, why not much more they?

8. I never meant to say, that the kingdome of Christ should appear, whilst all the Monarchies were yet standing, but before the times of that succession of Monarchies should expire; which is true, if it appeared onely in the *last* Monarchy. The confounding of the gold, silver, brasse, and Iron, in the destruction of the image, is either the τὸ ὁπότερον *typi* (for the parts of the Image could not succeed in time, as the kingdomes signified by them could, and so all must be broken together;) or because the second kingdome possessed the first, the third the 2^d; the 4^h the third; the last is represented as containing all the rest, &c.

9. The Duration of the four kingdoms holds no proportion with the parts of the Image typifying them, and therefore the continuance of the fourth kingdome makes the legs of the Image neither longer nor shorter.

10. I wonder you should say, there is no *second* kingdome of Christ (which I had rather call the *second state* of

of his kingdome) mentioned in Scripture. Consider the places I point to in the fourth Paragraph, and add to them *Luke 17.20.&c.* where our Saviour being asked of the Pharisees concerning the *kingdom of God*, tells them, that he must first be rejected of that nation, and that the coming thereof should be as in the daies of *Noah &c.*

11. The mysterie you say you conceive not (in the piece written with another hand) is that mysterie which the Apostle saies, *was not known till the preaching of the Gospel*; namely, that the *Jews* should be rejected, and the *Gentiles* surrogated in their stead. Nor did I say (as you mistake) that the *Jews* had no part in the first state of Christs kingdom, but that *their nation* had not; by which I meant nothing else, but that their nation was rejected. Doth not our Saviour expressly say, that he should be *rejected of that nation*, *Luk. 17*? It mattereth not, though many of their nation received him, seeing the *Body* of their nation acknowledged him not. This is plain enough, I shall not need put you in minde of *S. Pauls* discourse of the casting off of the *Jews*, though then there were so many particular *Jews* beleeving in him, as I beleeve never were since.

12. I beleeve not that ever the Gospel of Christ was preached all over the world; no more then I beleeve that *Augustus Caesar* taxed the whole world, because it is said he taxed *πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην*, for in the style of those times, the *Roman Empire* was called *Οἰκουμένη*, as appears in the Greek Historians, and the Latine call it *Imperium orbis terrarum*.

*Vid. Dan.
week p.*

13. *Daniel* himself interpreteth the Stone to be a

[D d. 3]

king-

kingdome, which the God of heaven should set up in the daies of those kingdoms, and therefore it cannot be the kingdome of Christ, as God coeternall with his Father; but the kingdome of Christ, as *δεσποτον*, which began not before he was incarnate. *In the daies of these kingdoms* (saith he) (that is; whilst some of them were yet in being) *the God of heaven shall set up a kingdome, which should never be destroyed, nor left* (as the former should). *to another people, but should break in peeces, and consume all those kingdoms, and it self should stand for ever.* Forasmuch (saith he) *as thou sawest a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and that it brake in peeces the iron, the brasie, the clay, the silver, and the gold.* Here make the full point, for these words belong not to that which follows (as our mis-distinction in the verses seem to refer them) but to that which went before of their interpretation. See the same reference of [*forasmuch*] in the 40. and 41. verses.

14. I will not now dispute of the præposition *ἐν*, though I had enough to say against you, but I say, that the words [*In the daies of those kings*] are much more likely to be construed by *Ellipsis particule partitive*, usuall in the Hebrew and Chaldee, *quasi*; *In the daies of some one of those kings, viz. the last of them.* So *Jephtha* is said to have been buried in the cities of *Gilead*; that is, in *some one* of them, &c.

There be some other passages not so principall, though I dissent from you in them, which I omit, as I desire to do this whole disputation. That I had reserved to have answered in your former Reply, was to that of the *Ruffling* horn, which by the expresse

preſſe* words of the Angel was to laſt untill the time came the Saints ſhould poſſeſſe the kingdome; that is, untill the Son of man came in the clouds of heaven to take a kingdome; (for this is the Angels expoſition of that part of the viſion) and therefore it could not be Antiochus Epiphanes. Your answer to this ſeemed very unſufficient; I deſire you to weigh it better. And I make an end.

* Dan. 7. 2.

Yours,

Offob. 13.

J. M.

Mr. T. H. his fourth Letter to Mr. Mede, about ſeverall Prophetical paſſages in Daniel, and Revelation.

1. Scaligers or Junius his opinion prevaile not ſo much as ſhould their reaſons.

God had told the Jews plainly the yeer, and by types, the time of the yeer, when Meſſias ſhould work their redemption: So that it was not enough to know in what age it ſhould be.

2. The coming of the Son of man is to his kingdome on earth, on which the Scripture runs abundantly, Dan. 2. 7. Apoc. 1. 7. Luk. 17. 20. and was to be before that generation paſſed, Mat. 24. 34. And within that ſpace of time he came on Jeruſalem, as the floud on the old world. There ſhall be a ſecond coming of Chriſt, namely, to judgement: And then he ſhall give up his kingdome here to the Father. Yet ſhall this kingdome here, and that in heaven be one and the ſame, conſiſt of the ſame men

[D d 4]

men or subjects, and have the same bent to the honour of God.

3. The Greeks rule after Antiochus Epiphanes, was sufficient to expresse the clayie legs; that is enough for me; and the clayie legs are part of the fourth Monarchy. The Romans were the Jews friends, full many scores of yeers after Epiphanes his time: Their war against Gods people, is that for which God paints them out as beasts. And though the Romans conquered Macedon long before Christs coming, yet both Julius Cæsar and Anthonie let Cleopatra hold her due of what rule she had, and were but sticklers, not opposites at first.

4. If Christs kingdome took place at his first coming; the same is one, and but one, and that everlasting.

5. The seven Trumpets, seven Vials, two Witnesses, &c. shew a new maister, not particulars of the fourth kingdome, particularized before in Daniel.

6. The late Jews (God enlighten them) shift abundantly; and the ancient both before and after their desertion, did but groap in darknesse.

7. Yet both the late and old Jews, and Porphyrie too, saw some truth; who can deny it?

8. The Text saith, In the daies of those kingdoms, say you; as if it were in all of them; and the stone confounds all. Why should we allow το πέρι τὸν τύπῳ?

9. You deny the duration of the fourth kingdome to hold proportion with the parts of the Image: I affirme it, my reason is, if the three former do, then the fourth also.

10. I know there is a second coming of Christ; that

at

at the day of judgement : But the kingdome once begun, is one, for it is everlasting. If there were two kingdoms, the one must end, the other begin.

Though there be degrees in the progresse of Christs kingdome, in regard of the worlds indisposition to submit to it, yet de jure all is Christs at his ascension.

11. *The mysterie which now you speak of, I acknowledge, and blesse God for it; namely, of the calling of the Gentiles. The Jews rejection also is plain in the time of the Gospel, yet was a remnant of their nation saved. And what more were the elect out of other nations? few to the many.*

12. *Though de facto, the Gospel was not preached to all the world then, yet see mentem Legislatoris, the minde of the Law-giver, Go preach to all Nations.*

13. *Christ is the stone: what is said of him in many things, is and may be said of them of his kingdome; He bruises with a rod of iron, Ps.2. So do his servants, Rev.2.27. He the Stone, and his kingdome and people here, do the same thing.*

14. *For the preposition, the authority I brought was sound and good. That about Jephtha is (though I use not to be sudden in this kinde) ill translated. I wish time would have given me leave to have conferred with books and men about it. I pray you think of it. Were it not better, Gideon was buried by the cities of Gilcad; namely the men of them all much honouring him, joyned in solemnizing his buriall?*

15. *Not the ruffling horn (as you call it) but the body of the beast, Dan.7.11. continued till the Son of man came: Now the body of the beast hornlesse, may expresse the same, or be correspondent to the clayie legs; and thus*

thus the answer is home in this particular also. Much more I could have said, but must here make an end, and leave you to God, whom I pray to keep us in his truth.

Ostob. 16.

1629.

*Mr. Medes Answer to Mr. T. H. his fourth Letter
about severall passages in Daniel
and the Revelation.*

NOW I have obtained a Release, that you might not think I shook off this *Gollation* out of Pride or Contempt, but to avoyd too great a diversion from other Meditations, I will adde this more then I meant to have done, the rather because I discovered by your last, somewhat more of your opinion in one principall particular then I knew before, and also because I find you presume of another piece as solid and well grounded, because in my last I made no answer to it, though I intimated I had sufficient, if need were, to say against it. My end is, that you might see I maintain not an opinion out of meer pertinacy, but that I have reasons sufficient to perswade my selfe, though you never met with a man (whatsoever you supposed of me) of lesse confidence to perswade others, then when you met with me: I have a conceit that some opinions be in a sort *fatall* to some men, and therefore I can with much patience endure a man to be contrary minded, and have little or no edge to contend with one I think

think perswaded, unlesse it were in some thing that meerly concerned him in state of salvation: but I come to the matter.

1. You seem to grant me, that the *coming of the Son of man in the Clouds of heaven*, &c. mentioned in *Daniel*, and that *coming of his in the Clouds of heaven* in the Gospel, *Mat. 24. 30. 26. 64. Mark 13. 26. 14. 62. Luke 21. 27.* and in the *Apocalypse*, cap. 1. are one and the same; but you may apply them all to Christs coming to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, because our Saviour saith in that Prophecie of his, That, *that generation should not passe till all things, then prophesied, should be fulfilled.* I answer first, while you endeavour in this manner to establish a ground for the first coming of Christ, you bereave the Church of those principall passages of Scripture, whereon she hath alwayes grounded her faith of the *second coming*. Secondly, you ground all this upon the ambiguity of the word *Generation*, whereas *γενεά* signifies not only *atras*, but *gens, natio, progenies*, and so ought to be here taken; viz. *Gens Iudeorum non interibit, usque dum omnia hac implentur.* The nation of the Iewes should not perish, till all these things were fulfilled. For so signifies *παρέλθῃ* in the Hebrew notion, as you may see even in the verse following *οὐρανὸς ὃ ἡ γῆ παρέλεύσονται*; By vertue of which *Amen*, verse 32. *Ἀμήν, Verily I say unto you*, the Jewish Nation, even to the wonder and astonishment of all who consider it, remains a distinct people in so long and tedious a captivity, and after so many wonderfull changes as have befallen the Nations where they live. According to that of *Jeremy*,

signification of a word. So then your argument thence is nothing.

3. Besides to interpret this *coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, and his kingdome then*, of his coming to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, is contrary to the context of our Saviours Prophecie: For the coming of Christ to destroy *Jerusalem*, was the beginning and cause of that great and long Tribulation of that people: but the coming and appearing of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, is expressly said should be after it. *Immediately after the dayes of that Tribulation, &c. Matth. 24. 29. Mark 13. 24.* For this great Tribulation such as never Nation suffered, is not to be confined to their calamity at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but extends to the whole time of their captivity and dispersion from that time unto this present not yet ended, wherefore S. Luke, who is wont to be an Expofitor of our Saviours words, puts in stead of those words of *great tribulation*, these of parallel sense to them; *There shall be great distresse in the land, and wrath upon this people. Luke 21. 24. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be troden down of the Gentiles, untill the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* And as the other Evangelists say, *After that tribulation ended*, So he, *After*, or *when these times of the Gentiles are fulfilled*, then shall be signs in the Sun and Moon, and then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud, &c. For the Copulative Kai verse 25. [*Καὶ ἔσται σμῆνα*, &c.] is to be taken after the Hebrew manner *ordinativè*, for *um, deinde*, which you know is

is frequent in Scripture, *Then shall be signes.*

And I make no question, but these *Times of the Gentiles*, with which the *Jewes Tribulation* shall end, are either the times of the four Monarchies in generall, (that is, the times of that prophesied Dominion of the Gentiles) or which is all one in event; those last times of the fourth kingdome of *A time, times, and halfe a time*, at the fulfilling whereof, *Daniel* prophesies of the same appearing and coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven, which *S. Luke* doth here. For if the immediate consequent be the same, how can the times which immediately precede, but be the same times also? This is my opinion, which I intimated once before, but you rejected it as groundlesse then, and I know your Tenet cannot admit it now: *Quisque abundet suo sensu*: therefore Ile contend no more about it.

2. But let the *kingdome* of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, whereof *Daniel* speaks, be as you would have it; That kingdom of his first coming, whether beginning at his Ascension, or manifesting it selfe at the Destruction of *Ferusalem*, (for one of them it must be, but) let it be which it will; I say for all this, there is yet sufficient left to overthrow your Tenet of the *fourth kingdome*. For that *kingdome* at the Son of mans coming in the clouds of heaven shewn to *Daniel*, is expounded by *Daniel* in his repetition to be *the kingdome of the Saints of the most high*: If this be not evident by the context, I utterly despair ever to understand prophesie by any light of the letter; I must take it therefore for granted, whether you grant it me or not, That that
kingdom

kingdome at the Son of mans coming in the clouds of heaven, in the vision, is that which Daniel in his repetition, and the Angell calls the *kingdome of the Saints of the most high*, in his interpretation; and therefore being the same, must begin at the same time, which you say was at our Saviours first coming, namely from the time of his Ascension. This therefore forelaid, I argue thus.

The *ruffling horn* persecutes the Saints untill the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdome *cap. 7. v. 22.*

But *Antiochus Epiphanes* persecuted not untill the Saints possessed the kingdome, which was at the Son of mans coming in the clouds of heaven. *Ergo.*

For if he persecuted till then; He with his *time, times, and halfe a time*, must continue till Christs Ascension at the neereſt; but he was dead two hundred yeers before. It will not ſerve your turn here, to fly to the kingdome of Chriſt as he is God, for the kingdom here ſpoken of, is the kingdome of the *Son of man*, and a kingdome which begins in time. Nor mattereth it how the *Greek* kingdome after *Antiochus* may ſeem to befit the *Clayie legs*, unleſſe you make the *little horn* to be thoſe *Clayie legs*. But you muſt ſhew, how the *little horn*, if it be *Epiphanes*, lived and persecuted untill the time came, the Saints poſſeſſed the kingdome. Will you expound [*untill the time came*] untill ſome two hundred yeers before the time came? I know not how you can evade here, unleſſe as *Porphyrie* did, you will make the *kingdome of the Saints* here mentioned, to be the
king-

kingdome of the Maccabees, and so the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, (whereof it is an exposition) to be *Judas Maccabeus*, or *Foannes Hircanus*, or some other of those *Hasmonians*. If you answer thus, you must not think it strange, if I am loath to be perswaded to your opinion, who reading that Prophecy, cannot be perswaded but the *little horn* is the *last limme* of the *fourth Beast*, whose part once acted, the Beasts glasse is run, and his time of destruction come. Or who can beleeve but he is to be destroyed at that time of Judgement, when the Son of man shall appear in the clouds of heaven? Though you say you see no evidence for it, yet I cannot be perswaded but this Scripture was it, out of which *S. Paul* learned to confute the *Thesſalonians* causelesse fear of the day of Christs coming to Judgement to be neer at hand: when he tells them, *that that day should not come, untill the man of sin were first revealed*, and had acted his part forasmuch as Christ was to abolish him by the *ἐμφάνεια* of his coming: for so *Daniel* had taught him, that the *wicked Horns* reign should conclude the fourth kingdome, and the Son of man should abolish him at his coming in the clouds of heaven, and therefore could not that coming of his be untill the *wicked Horn* should be revealed, and reign the time appointed him. This I am sure, that this prophecy of *Daniel* was the Womb whence the Jewish Doctors derived that Term of *יָמֵי דִּינָא דְּרַבָּנָא* *Dies judicii* & *יָמֵי דִּינָא דְּרַבָּנָא* *magnus dies judicii*, because that coming of *Messiah* is thrice so described in this place of *Daniel*, verse 10. 22. 26. whence even at this day they look not for *Messiah* untill

untill *Magnus dies iudicii*, the great day of Judgement. Our Saviour and his Apostles received this term of *Dies Iudicii* from them, and approve it by using it. But it is farre more frequent in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and other writings of theirs, then in the New Testament. Nor can I beleve, but our Saviour and his Apostles, using this phrase, meant to approve the ground of Scripture whence they deduced it: Especially our Saviour so often expressing his *second coming* by these words of *Daniel*, *coming in the clouds of heaven*: which the Elders and Priests hearing our Saviour apply to himselfe, when they arraigned him; they rent their clothes as at Blasphemy: whence it appeares they took it for no small and ordinary Character of power, not applyable to *Judas Maccabeus*, or his successors.

I know the same phrases may be used to expresse like matters of divers and sundry times, but here is not only Identity of phrases, but together with the same phrases, the same frame of things with their circumstances, and those such as are not applyable to many times: and though I am not of the same mind with *Theocritus Iustus* (his name is *Daniel Lawenus* *) to draw all the *Apocalyps* to the Jews, upon no other ground but communion of phrases, yet I know nevertheless, that to compare Scripture with Scripture, is none of the least helps to understand Scripture.

3. I have dwelt all this while upon the *second* vision of kingdomes, I come now *μεμβύσειν*, to say somewhat of the *first*; *Dan. 2. verse 44.*

ובימי הווי' מלכיה And in the days of these Kings or kingdoms, that is say I, during the days of those kingdoms

[E c]

while

* I have had good occasion to know his name, and some of his notions too

while the dayes of this Dominion of the Gentiles, yet last, before these days of their dominion ended. I lay the Emphasis upon *dayes*: But here you stumble and make inference, as if I had said, or the Prophet either: *In* or *during* all the days of those kingdoms, or during the dayes of all those kingdoms, *Babylonian, Persian, and Greek* as well as *Roman*; I cannot but marvell to see you make so strange of an expression, not only frequent in Scripture, but common and usuall in every language. If I should say, such or such a thing was done *in the dayes* of the Saxon, or in the days of the British Kings, would you inferre or understand me, as if I meant in *all* the days of those Kings, or in the days of *all* those Kings, or some of them onely? If I should say such a thing was done in the days of Popery, must I needs mean *all* the days of Popery, or some part of them onely, and so no more but while those days were yet in being. It is said, *Ruth 1.1. It came to passe in THE DAYS when the Judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land*: I hope this famine was but in some part of those days, or in the days of some of those Judges, not all of them: It is an expression *Ellipticall*, if you will, but yet most ordinary. *Judg. 15. 20. Samson judged Israel in the days of the Philistines 20. yeers*: but the Philistines days were forty yeers: so he judged but in the latter part of them: *2 Sam. 21. 1. There was a famine in the days of David 3. yeers. Vide Ezra 4. 7. Esay. 7. 1. Jer. 23. 6. so Matth. 2. In the days of Herod the King, Jesus was born in Bethlehem*; that is, in the latter end or about the last two yeers of his reign. So [*In the days of those kingdoms of the Gentiles*] is, during them

them and in the latter part of them, as the nature of the thing spoken of sufficiently argues, which was to destroy the last kingdome, which had destroyed and swallowed the former three: I mean the second swallowed or possessed the first, the third, the second, the fourth, the third, and so in a sense by the destruction of the fourth, the stone destroyeth all the rest as contained therein: For the stone smites neither the Golden part, nor the Silver, nor the Brasse immediately, but only the feet of iron and clay, and yet by that blow was the Brasse, the Silver, and the Gold destroyed also, in as much as they all came by succession to the Iron. I added besides in my last, that the dissipation of the gold, silver and brasse, together with the iron, might be τὸ ὁπίον τυπὶ (not ὁπίον as you change it,) because the parts of the image in the type could not succeed one another in time as the kingdomes signified by them did, and so the Image appeared to be dissipated all at once in vision, though the kingdomes were not so, save onely in the sense before named.

I added one thing more which came then to mind, when I saw you urge so hard upon all the four Kings; that Kings might be taken Elliptically also, as well as dayes, (though that of dayes be indefinite rather) viz. in the dayes of those kingdomes, that is, some one of them: I gave for an example of such an Ellipsis that of Fephtah, Judg. 12. 7. And Fephtah was burned in the Cities of Gilead, that is, one of them. Here you sollicite the interpretation as not right, you would have בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד in the Cities of Gilead to be, By the inhabitants of the Cities of Gilead;

[Ee 2]

But

But besides, that you cannot shew any where in Scripture **בְּעַר** so used, the verses following would check such an interpretation, where three more Judges are named, with the time of their rule and places of their buriall, as *Iephtah* was, which is sufficient I think to perswade that *Iephtah's* place of buriall was named likewise, and not meant the persons who buried him. But why should you labour to win this one place from me, who quoted it not as if there were no more, but as that which was most present to my memory: For the thing it selfe, it is a ruled case amongst the *Grammarians*, that you may not think I devised it for an Evasion: I have observed many examples thereof, which I know not now where to finde, onely there comes one to minde like that of *Iephtah*, *2 Chron. 35. 24.* where it is said, that *Josiah* was buried **בְּקִבְרוֹת אֲבוֹתָיו** in the Sepulchers of his fathers which we translate [*one of the Sepulchers*]. But in the mean time till your own observation shall furnish you with more examples, I will exscribe such as my *Grammarian* affords me, *Psal. 1. 3.* *Erit sicut arbor plantata* **עַל פְּלִי מִים** *ad rivos aquarū. h. c. juxta Aben Ezram* **עַל אֶחָד פְּלִי מִים** *ad aliquem rivorum aque. Joh. 1. verse 5.* *Et Jonas descendit ad latera Navis, hoc est, ad unum è lateribus.* *Zach. 9. 9.* *Et super pullum natum asinarum. h. c.* **בֶּן אֶחָד הָאֲתוֹרִים** *pullo ex unā asinarum; yea and with a numerall word, 1 Sam. 18. 21.* **בְּשָׁתִים תִּתְחַוֶּה בִּי הַיּוֹם** *per duas affinitate conjunges te mecum hodie, h. c.* **בְּאַחַת מִשְׁתֵּים** *per alteram è duabus.* *Et sic Targū, בְּחֶד מִתְרֵי, Hujus generis sunt, latrones exprobraverūt ei, Mat. 27. 44. 1. alteruter è latronibus, ut exponitur, Luk. 23. 39. Item scriptum est in Prophetis, Johan.*

Johan. 6. 45. h. e. in aliquo Prophetarum. I suppose these will be sufficient to induce you to let *Jephthahs* bones rest in one of the Cities of *Gilead*.

Thus much of my Interpretation, now of yours: you would have, *In the dayes of those Kingdomes*, to be expounded, *After the dayes of them*; and because I answered it not, but onely rejected it in my last, you suppose the authority you brought therefore was sound and good; I now answer therefore, and say first, that besides, that it is contrary to the native property of the preposition *אחרי* so to be interpreted (it being decurtate of *אין* *inter*) so the examples you bring are farre enough from proving it. Let us examine them: The first is, *Exod. 2. 11. And it came to passe בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם in those dayes when Moses was growne, &c.* I say יָמִים [Dayes] here, are the days of the *Egyptian* bondage and servitude. What should we do with [After] here? The next is in the same Chap. verse 23. בַּיָּמִים הָרַבִּים הָהֵם that is, *when those dayes of Egyptian servitude had now continued long, and were not yet ended, &c.* you see here is no need of any *After*, and you cannot deny, but it may be thus expounded: If it may, I will never make an *Anomaly* of signification, where the naturall and usual will serve turn. 2^{ly}, Could it be shewed that *אחרי* sometimes signified [After] yet in this place the nature of the thing spoken of will not admit that signification. The stone hewen out of the mountain is interpreted by *Daniel*, to be a *kingdome* which should begin in time, that is, the kingdom of Christ *θεανδρω* *Θ*, not that he hath as coeternal with his Father, which hath no beginning: This kingdome

[Ee 3] of

of Christ should smite the fourth kingdom, and at length destroy it, therefore this kingdom must needs be whilst the fourth Monarchy was yet in being, and not begin after it: For how can that which comes after, smite that which before had ceased to be? or how can that which was not till after, destroy that which was destroyed before it selfe was? Therefore the nature of the subject will not admit [?] to be here taken for [*After*,] but requires it should be maintained in its proper and naturall signification.

4. That I may therefore gather all this controverſie into a short ſumme, I finde your Tenet to ſtand charged with three not tolerable inconveniencies of interpretation: The *one* in the firſt viſion, where you interpret, *In the dayes of thoſe kingdoms*, to be *After the dayes of them*: where the matter ſpoken of will no wayes bear it, though the *Præpoſition* would. The *ſecond* in the ſecond viſion, where you will be forced to interpret, *untill the time came the Saints poſſeſſed the Kingdom*, untill ſome 200. yeeres before that time: A *third* is, that you are forced for making good your expoſition of the *Kingdoms*, to deprive the Church of thoſe principal paſſages of Scripture, whereon ſhe hath always grounded her faith of the ſecond coming of Chriſt. If I found mine charged with any one ſuch, I ſhould begin to miſdoubt the truth thereof. I might adde a *fourth*, That beſides all theſe, you forſake that Expoſition and Application of theſe kingdoms, which the Church hath univerſally followed from her infancy. And who can eaſily be perſwaded that the Doctors of the Church
immedi-

immediately following the Apostles, and wherein some of the Apostles disciples were yet living, should be ignorant of the meaning of so main a Prophecie, whereupon depended the demonstration of the verity of Christs coming, and that too whilst those disputes were still hot, between the Jewes and Christians? The Fathers are to be considered here not in respect of greater learning, or infallibility of Spirit then ours, but as *Testes & Custodes doctrinae primitus acceptae*, because it cannot bee presumed they could bee ignorant of it being so neer, or would change it being so pious and good.

Now the inducements which should perswade an opinion burthened with such inconveniencies, had need be very powerfull: But when I examine every thing, I finde the main and onely pillar which you suppose will bear up your building against all assaults whatsoever, to be but a weak one, namely, that nothing was revealed to *Daniel* which was contained in *S. Johns sealed book*, because none could open that book but Christ, and he opened it not till his Revelation shewed to *John*. That there is a flaw in this illation is apparent, because there are two main and principall matters of the argument of that book, which cannot be denied to have been revealed before, namely of *Antichrist's persecution*, and of the *second coming of Christ* to judgement, the first whereof was revealed to *S. Paul* (though out of another book:) the other is plentifully revealed throughout the New Testament, before *S. John* saw his visions. I answered therefore before, and answer still,

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that

unto S. *John*, when also *Daniel's* most particular part was yet to be revealed much more particularly in the *Metropolis*, quality of Blasphemy, degrees & manner of destruction. That which I have said of the *Roman Empire*, partly revealed, and partly sealed, must be accommodated also to the history of the Church, or kingdom of Christ, the other part of the subject of this *Apocalypticall* book, which though it were in some degree revealed before, yet never in such order, and specification of fates and circumstances as now. The consideration of the one will easily clear the scruple you make concerning the other. And for conclusion, you must remember that I yeeld you all this time your sense of the sealing, and unsealing the *Apocalypticall* book, which you know some interpret to a farre other purpose.

I have a little time, and paper enough left, I will look over your papers, and answer such particulars more, as I think need answering.

1. I know not what it is you contend for about the *two States* of Christs Kingdome. If you grant the Kingdome of Christ at his second coming, shall be of a different state from that of his first, you grant as much as serves my turn, and the kingdome is neither more nor lesse eternall, because some state thereof is not eternall. An infant when it comes to be *adultus* is the same *numero* still, but the stature is not the same but diverse.

2. You affirm the duration of the fourth kingdom holds proportion with the *legs*, because the three former do with their parts. If they do, tell me how your 3^d. kingdom of *Alexander* and his progeny, w^{ch} lasted but

but 18. yeers, holds proportion with the *belly* of the Image; I think it will be but a girt belly: The *Persian* Monarchy represented by brest and arms, lasted about 200. yeers, that is, ten or eleven times as long as your third kingdom did. If this proportion holds in this image, the *brest and arms* must be ten or eleven times as long as the belly. And if you read *belly* and *thighes*, the proportion will be a great deal worse: For I suppose you make your fourth kingdome 280 yeers long, the same proportion therefore which 280. hath to 18. your *legs* must have to the *belly and thighes*, that is, *quindecupla*.

3. Whatsoever time of *Messiah's* appearing, Almighty God pointed out by *Daniels* 70. weeks, yet I beleeve not, that any Jew before the event could infallibly design the time without some latitude, because they could not know infallibly where to pitch the head of their account, untill the event discovered it; yet in some latitude they might. I think we have as good skill in that computation as the Jews could have, and yet you see we yet vary about it after so many hundred yeers. And if your selfe in this difference follow Mr. *Broughton's* way, you may as soon perswade me there is no Sun in heaven, as make me beleeve it. And though it mattereth not much what I think or think not, yet in this I dare say, that all the learned men of note in Christendome are of my minde. And for my part, I cannot but think it a *prodigium* that any man should think otherwise, and I suppose your selfe are so farre of my judgement.

4. If you make the fourth beast hornlesse before his destruction, you will make *Daniel* both at oddes with

with himselfe and the Angell his Interpreter. If the *horn* continue untill the Ancient of dayes comes to give judgement to the Saints of the most high, and untill the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom, verse 21. Or if he continue untill the judgement sit, and they take away his dominion, and the kingdom be given to the people of the Saints of the most high, verse 26. 27. how was he hornlesse when the Ancient of dayes sat in judgement to destroy him, and give his body to the burning flame? This I should have taken notice of in another place, but I then forgot it, yet I said there that which was sufficient to overthrow it. I would not have such an evasion in my opinion.

5. Though all the four kingdomes have respect to the Jews, as those who were all that time to be in bondage under them, yet it doth not follow that the beginning of each kingdom should be counted from the time they were first possessed of *Palestine*, but from the time the *caput regni* should be given unto the people, which were next to succeed. Nor is that observation solid, that those kingdomes were called beasts, for the beastly usage of Gods people: the word חיה *Heb.* חיה signifies naturally *animal*. And you will not I know say so of the *quatuor animalia* in the *Apocalypse*, though we translate them also *four beasts*. The congregation of *Israel* as we translate it, *Pf.* 68. 10. is called חיה, And if חיה signifies *Cetus* & *Caterva*, that notion may be applyed to Kingdoms, and States also; so the type is so much the more concise by reason of the ambiguity of the word in those languages. But whether it be this or that I affirm.

Mr. Medes Answer to Mr. Osbourn's *Quæres*,
touching some passages in Daniel
and the Revelation.

Qu. 1. Whether Daniel and the Revelation are Prophecies transfused into one another; or that Daniel reaches no farther then the destruction of Jerusalem?

Ans. I conceive Daniel to be *Apocalypsis contracta*, and the *Apocalyps*, Daniel explicate, in that where both treat about the same subject; namely, what was revealed to Daniel concerning the fourth kingdome, but *summatim* and in *grosse*, is shewed to S. Iohn *particulatim*, with the distinction and order of the severall fates and circumstances, which were to betide and accompany the same. And that therefore Daniels prophetic is not terminated with the first, but reacheth to the second coming of Christ, as appears by the description of that glorious coming, and the great judgement, *Dan. 7.* and his prophetic of the Resurrection, *cap. 12.* This hath been the constant tradition of the Church, from the Apostles days to this last *seculum*, and was of the Church of the Jewes before and at our Saviours time. And if the Apostles had ever taught the Church otherwise, it could never so timely, so wholly, so generally have been forgotten.

Quest. 2. How was the Book of Apocalyptical prædictions sealed untill the Lamb opened it; *Apos. 5.* if Daniel and the other Prophets wrote any thing of them?

Ans.

Ans. Whatsoever the meaning be of that sealing and unsealing the Apocalyptical Book; it cannot be so far urged, as to infer the Contents thereof were in no wise revealed untill that unsealing; that is, untill S. *Iohn* saw his *Revelation*. For the contrary is apparent; First, of the day of Judgement, and Resurrection at Christs glorious coming in the clouds; which is the main But and scope of the *Apocalyps*, and yet was foretold by *Daniel*, or some other of the Prophets: or else upon what Scripture did the Church of the Jewes found their faith concerning both? Secondly, the reign of Antichrist, which should precede that glorious coming, is no small part of the argument of the *Apocalyps*; yet was that revealed before S. *Iohn* saw his visions; if you will not grant to and by *Daniel*, yet you must by S. *Paul*, 2 *Thes.* 2. which was at least 40. yeares before the *Apocalyps* was given. But he that considers S. *Paul* well, will finde, that he borrowed that piece of the ground of his Demonstration from *Daniel*, of which more by and by.

Ind a word, the fourth kingdome and that tyrannicall Dominion which should foregoe the Son of mans coming in the clouds of heaven, was revealed *summatim & in genere*, before S. *Iohns* visions; but the *series rerum gerendarum*, therein from the first to that second and glorious appearing of Christ, *particulatim & in specie*, was never revealed or unsealed till then.

Quest. 3. All things go round: That which is, is that which was, and that which shall be: what therefore though the expressions in S. *Iohn*, be the same

same with those in *Daniel*, yet may the times and things prophesied of, not be the same ?

Ansiv. 'Tis true, all things goe round, and the course of divine government runs in a circle or repetition of the same things : So that the fates and sequels of things foretold in the Prophets, may be again and again repeated, and the prophecies of them, as it were often fulfilled; namely, by way of Analogy, but not of Propriety. But whither tends this ? I suppose to make the *Ruffling horn* in *Daniel*, and *S. Johns* blaspheming *Beast* to be diverse, though the expression and description be the same. If this be it, I meet with it thus; the vision of the Son of mans coming in the clouds of heaven, *Dan. 7.* is in propriety the second and glorious coming of Christ, as appears by that coming so often described from thence, in the New Testament, and our Saviours using of the title of the Son of man with reference * thereto; as who, though now he appeared in humility, yet was the same which one day (as *Daniel* prophesied) should appear so gloriously; *vid. Matth. 26. 64. Mark 14. 62, &c. Adhibe John 12. 34, &c.*

* For no where also is Messiah so termed, but there.

But if this be so, then that Dominion which *Daniel* saw immediately to precede this coming, must be in propriety that Tyranny of the wicked one, which should precede that second and glorious coming of Christ. Therefore, not the Tyranny of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, but of Antichrist. And upon this ground did *S. Paul* build that Demonstration of his *2 Thess. 2.* That the Day of the Lord could not be at hand; to wit, because the kingdom of that wicked one (which *Daniel* had foretold, he should

(should abolish at the appearance of his coming) was not yet in the world.

Quest. 4. Whether *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image contained more kingdoms then were then in the world, or whereof himselfe was Master?

Ans. More kingdomes then were then in the world, I see no reason why it might not, nay why it should not; for it was a vision of kingdomes that were to be afterward (verse 29. & 45.) and the kingdom of Christ one amongst them: yet was *Rome* a kingdom then, as well as *Macedon* or *Persia*.

Contain more kingdomes then were comprehended in the Provinces he was Master of, I am sure it did; namely, that of *Macedon*, no part of which, neither of the rest of *Greece*, was ever subject to the *Babylonian* Monarchy; nor any more, but some of their Colonies on the *Asian* shore, to the *Persian*. Nor is this so strange, since the form and shape of the Image, consists not in the identity of place and bounds of Dominion, (though for a great and the principallest part it were the same) but in the order of succession, which each Kingdom was to have to that which went before it, namely one of them should subdue and inherit another, till a fifth kingdom came, which should never be subdued or destroyed, nor left (as the rest were) to another people.

Quest. 5. Whether *Daniels* visions (there where the Angell expoundeth them) be so mysticall, as not in propriety expounded by the Angell?

Ans. I understand the Interpretation of every vision according to the propriety of the Letter, and not to be a new Allegory needing another mystical interpre-

interpretation : yet for all this I see no more necessity, why the *Roman* kingdom should be described (if *Daniel* any where describes it) from its situation to the West (as those of the *Seleucide* and *Lagide* are by North and South,) then the *Persian* is by the East. For the Holy Ghost chuseth such Characters for distinction as he listeth, nor is tyed to one way of characterizing, but doth it variously. Besides that Character of West situation being common to the third kingdom, and anticipated in the vision thereof, *cap.* 8. 5. could not distinguish the fourth from it.

Quest. 6. Whether *Daniel* understood not his own visions; especially when the Angell told him the *MON*, as in that from the tenth Chapter, to the end?

Ans. 'Tis one thing to understand the interpretation of a vision, another to understand the application of the Interpretation; namely, to what times and places it belongeth. Where the Angell gave *Daniel* the Interpretation or meaning of the similitude of any vision, I doubt not but he understood what such similitude meant, as that by *Beasts*, were meant kingdoms, by *Horns* Kings, and the like. But the application of the Interpretation (unlesse where the Angell sometimes applyed it) I beleeve he understood not, especially in the last vision, where himselfe sayes so: *I heard*, saith he, *but I understood not*. And no marvell, for the Angell tells him, *Those words were closed up and sealed, till the time of the end*. And it is to be observed, that in the last Prophecie the vision is not described, but the *MON* or

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interpretation onely reported. The vision, out of the last verse of the tenth chapter, may seem to have been some book or writing, which either conveniently could not, or the holy Ghost thought not fit to describe.

Jos. Mede.

Dr. Twisse his first Letter to Mr. Mede.

Good Mr. Mede,

AMongst many fruits of my acquaintance with Doctor Meddus, this hath been one of the chiefest, that he hath brought me acquainted with your self, though not de facie, yet de meditationibus, and that in the opening of mysteries; I was so happy as to light upon two Copies of your Clavis Apocalyptica, thereby to gratifie both my self and my friend: I was beholding to Dr. Meddus for the one, and to Mr. Briggs for the other. Since that I have seen divers Manuscript pieces of yours, wherof I make precious account. Your distinction of fata Imperii, & fata Ecclesie, the one contained in the Seals, the other in Bisurpidio, doth exceedingly affect me, as a Key of great use for the opening of these mysteries. Your interpretation of the Seals proceeds in my judgement with great evidence of illustration. And in the last place, your exposition of the Trumpets, hath taken me quite off from the vulgar opinion, that formerly hath been so common: For all which I most heartily thank you. And did it become me to profess so much, who am nothing worth, I should be apt to say, you are as dear in mine affection, as to any friend you have. I beseech you go on to perfect the good

good work you have begun in the Revelation, and in other mysterious passages, for the clearing whereof, I well perceive, by the blessing of God, you have attained to a very singular faculty. I seem to discern a providence of God in causing the opinion of a thousand yeers Regnum Sanctorum to be blasted as an error by the censure passed upon the Chiliasm, to take men off from fixing their thoughts too much on that in those dates, when the accomplishment was so far removed; but with purpose to revive it in a more seasonable time, when Antichrists kingdome should draw neer to an end.

Concerning which, I have something to propose, in searching after more particular satisfaction. But I know not whether yet I may be so bold with you; and besides, I fear to divert you from your so weighty and so profitable studies: yet they are such, as withall I have thought with my self of accommodating an answer. But though my heart serve me not to communicate them to you at this time; yet surely I shall make them known to Doctor Meddus. A friend of mine also hath this day given into my hands, certain disputations upon divers mysterious points in Daniel and the Revelation. In one of them he disputes of this one thousand yeers regnum Sanctorum, with variety of reasons pro & con; but inclining rather to the contrary. A very ingenuous man he is, and a great student in Master Brightman. If I may have liberty to communicate these things unto you, and that it may be without offence to your more weighty studies; I would so use this liberty, as not to nourish my self in idlenesse, but withall to imploy my self in answering whatsoever I finde therein to the contrary.

At this time give me leave to propose to your conside-

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ration,

ration, whether that feare of πανολεθρια almost of our Protestant profession, may not be avoided; and the three daies and an half, Rev. 11. not signifie a space of time succeeding the continuance of those witnesses, but intermixed with it. My reason is this, the two witnesses signifie all the witnesses giving testimony to Gods truth, not contemporating, but succeeding one another for many generations; against all which the Beast warred, and prevailed against some in one age, some in another. Every ones testimony seems to be finished in his death. And as long as Antichrist reigneth, God hath his witnesses in some place or other prophecying in sackcloth. But this I submit to your better judgement. I shall heartily desire God to blesse your labours; and so commending &c.

Newbury, Nov. 2.
1629.

*Yours in all truth of
heartly affection*

Will: Twisse.

I would intreat you to take into your consideration one thing more. S. Paul writes, Rom. 11. that the conversion of the Jews shall be by way of provocation from the Gentiles: whether this provocation doth not imply some great prosperity wherewith God shall blesse his Christian Church; and what in this kinde comparable to the ruine of Antichrist, and the consequents thereof.

Mr.

Mr. Mede his Answer to D. Twisse his first Letter.

Worthy Sir,

THAT any man so learned and judicious as I have heard your self to be, should conceive any meditations of mine worthy, not onely of approbation, but of so much affection, I must ascribe it (if they be but in any degree such as you make them) to Gods goodnesse toward me, who hath in any sort enabled me to endeavour ought whereby I might not live in the world altogether unprofitable. I know I am conscious of mine own weaknesse and insufficiency in many points of knowledge, which others have; yet if this one thing be my Talent, though but a single one, I have sufficient wherefore continually to thank the Almighty, and to beseech him, that my husbanding thereof, may be by his gracious instinct, such as may be some occasion of further light to others, in some manner of recompense of what I have, and still daily do receive from others.

But whatsoever my speculations be, this I am sure of, that I am not a little obliged to your self, for your so kinde and affectionate entertainment of them, as rests not in them onely, but extends even to the person of the Author, otherwise utterly unknown unto you. Wherefore, for my part, if I should not reciprocally answer you, I should shew my self of too unworthy a disposition.

As for my interpretation of the *Seals and Trumpets*, where I leave others, and take a way of mine

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own,

own, I do it to maintain an uniformity of notion in the prophetickall Schemes and Allegories throughout the Scripture; which I am perswaded were once no lesse familiar and usuall to the Nations of the Orient, then our poetickall Schemes and Pictures are to us.

And the onely way for us to learn the meaning of them is, by finding out that uniformity I speak of, by comparing the severall applications of them together, and such other helps as remain unto us. But whether some of the Interpretations usually given of the *Seals* and *Trumpets* will abide this touch-stone, your self I know can judge. Such voluntary interpretations may delight the fancy, and commend the wit of their Author; but they will not satisfie him, that cannot thinke any mans wit a footing firme enough to rest his faith upon.

For the *one thousand yeers Regnum Christi*; it was time for it to be silent under *regnum Antichristi*; and the reign of the Martyrs in the first resurrection to be cried down, when Antichrist was blasphemously to advance them, to a reign derogatory to the glory of Christ their Lord, to be as competitors with him in the office of his Mediation, and partakers of the honour and worship which was due to him alone.

I speak not here altogether at randome; for after the opinion of the *Chiliasm* was cried down, (when the sentence of *Damascus* had once given it the deadly blow) they fell to expound this reign of the Martyrs in the twentieth of the *Apocalypse*, of the idolatrous reign of them, which themselves had then devised, by occasion of those signs and wonders

ders, said then to be wrought by the power of the Martyrs, upon such as touched their Reliques, and approached their Sepulchres.

Two of the ancientest Commentators extant after the Chiliaſts opinion became ſilent, are *Andreas Caſarienſis* and *Aretas*, in whom you ſhall finde what I ſay even totidem verbis. The words of *Andreas* are theſe; *Et vidi animas decollatorum, &c. Quin reliquis quoque ſanctis Martyribus, qui pro Chriſto mortem perpeſſi ſunt, neque myſtica Beſtie, qui diabolus eſt, characterem, hoc eſt, imaginem, Apoſtaſia ipſius ſuſceperunt, judicandi poteſtas data eſt, per quam Demones, ut ob oculos videmus, judicare non deſiſſunt* [*Ἰδὼν οὖν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὀψομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπολλομένων καὶ τῶν ἀποκαταστάμενων*] *uſque ad præſentis ſeculi conſummationem cum Chriſto glorificati, à piis rurſum Regibus fidelibuſque Principibus adorati* [*ὁπότε βασιλεῖων εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἀποκαταστάμενων*] *& divina denique virtute contra omnem corporum morbum, fraudemque, & vim Demonum conſpicuè donati.* *Aretas* almoſt in the ſame words: *Ex quo igitur (inquit) neque capti ſunt hi (ſcil. decollati) neque per impudentiam, neque per opera mala inſigniti, merito cum Chriſto & vixerunt & regnarunt, idque uſque ad conſummationem. Quemadmodum videmus etiam ſub fidelibus Regibus atque Principibus, dum adorantur, contra omnem etiam corporis infirmitatem ac demonum energiam oſtendunt datam ſibi à Deo gratiam. Nam quia (inquit) non adorarunt Beſtiam, neque imaginem ejus; Idcirco etiam vixerunt, id eſt, virorum opera præſtiterunt, miraculorum videlicet patratiōem.*

Vixit Andreas circa annum Chriſti 500.

Yet even *S. Auguſtine* and *Primaſius* applied this Prophecy of the Martyrs, (though not to the dona-

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tion

tion of them, yet) to that preheminance of honour then given them in the Assemblies of Christians, and their power of working miracles after death. *Vid. de Civit. Dei lib. 20. cap. 9. cum cap. 9. lib. 22.*

And if with Mr. *Brightman* and others, we begin the one thousand yeers from *Constantine*, there is no place of Scripture for a Papist to urge for *Saint-worship* like unto this, because the time will fit so just; for it began much about that time, though the Papist had rather have it thought to be *ab initio*, w^{ch} *Andre-as* notwithstanding expressly denies: *Etenim* (saith he) *quæ nunc per experientiam rerumque eventum videntur, Sanctorum miracula, meritorumque præmia, quando Evangelista Johanni hac patefiebant, adhuc futura erant.*

I shall be glad to see your Quæries and Answers to them; but before I had received yours, I had written to Doctor *Meddus*, that my thoughts would be diverted, and my time taken up about some other businesse between this and *Christmas*; whereupon he transcribed them not. My brains are so narrow, that I can tend and minde but one thing at once, whatsoever it be; and therefore I must desire my friends to bear with that imperfection, as also with my slownesse; even when I go about any thing, especially to write and digest.

Concerning your Quære of the *Clades Testium*, I cannot see how it can be referred to any other time, then to about the end of their 1260. daies mourning-prophecy; because that which immediately follows their reviving after three daies and a half lying dead, is not applyable to any other time save that onely; as namely, so great an exaltation as is implied by ascending

ascending up to heaven in a cloud, such a great earthquake or commotion should be at the same houre, whereby the throne of the Beast should be so much shaken; and lastly, the expiring at the same time of the *second woe*, or *sixth trumpet*. These are not applicable to any time, save the times of the Beasts declining and period, and consequently to the end of the 1260. daies of the Witnesses wearing sackcloth, and should fall out when they were now putting off their sackcloth, and when some of them had done it already; for so the word is to be turned, When they were now about to finish their prophecy or daies of sack-cloth, &c. Besides, it suits with the method of divine providence; God Almighty having ever used to usher any great exaltation of his Saints, with some desperate extremity and calamity immediately foregoing it: Whence is that Theologicall proverbe, *Cum duplicantur lateres, tunc venit Moses*. When was David in a more distresse, then when he was instantly to be exalted to the throne of *Judah*; namely, at the burning of *Ziklag*? what a straight were *Moses* and the children of *Israel* brought into, a little before *Pharaoh* and his host were to be drowned in the Red sea? The most grievous extreme and dangerous persecution that ever the Church felt, was then, when Christianity was ready to be exalted unto the Throne of the Empire; I mean that of *Dioletian*.

Moreover, there is a sin whereof the whole body of the Reformation is notoriously guilty, which nevertheless is accounted no sin, and yet such an one, as I know not whether God ever passed by, without some visible and remarkable judgement: This seems
to call

call for a scourge before Antichrist shall go down :
 And that may be as far as I know, this feared *Clades*
Testium. I will not name it, because it is invidious,
 and I am not willing to be drawn to say so much for
 the probability thereof in this case, as perhaps I
 could. But to speak somewhat more particularly of
 this *Clades*; I know not whether it should immedi-
 ately precede the pouring out of the fifth *Viall*, or
 the fourth. If I were secure of the present dangers
 and fears, I should incline most to think it should
 precede the fifth *viall*, in respect of the fall of *διξ-
 τιν & πολως*, which instantly ensues the *witnesses* re-
 viving. Secondly, the time of *three daies and a half*,
 is the time during which the *witnesses* should lie for
 dead, without appearance of life or motion; not the
 time wherein they should be dying or killing, for
 that may be much longer, and grow also by degrees,
 (as also the naturall body of man sometimes dies so)
 the feet first, and so upward. The *three daies and a
 half* are not to be reckoned therefore (as seems to
 me) untill all should be dead, and motion of life any
 more appeare. Thirdly, I conceive not this *Clades*
 to be such as should extinguish the persons, or whole
 materials (as I may so speak) of the reformed Churches,
 for joy whereof the *witnesses* were about to finish
 their time of mourning. For that the party of men
 remaining of that dissolved building of Reformati-
 on, should be great (though they lay as dead) may
 be gathered by the strength they should in so short a
 time, as after *three yeers and a half*, recover; is the
 no small terrour of the Beast which slew them, &c.

It

It would make somewhat perhaps for understanding the degree of this *Clades*, if we could certainly tell what were that *πλατρία τῆς τύλεως*, wherein the *witnesses* should lie for dead: and whether those of nations, tongues and people, which should hinder the putting of them into graves, were friends or foes. They may seem to be friends: for if they had been once buried, there would have been but small hope of so soon a reviving again, and standing upon their feet. You know what the Pharisees said, when they would have our Saviour made sure from rising again the third day.

By the way because you use in your letter the word *παραθεσία*, I suppose your copy of my *specimina* is misdistinguished; for I referred not that word to the calamity of the *witnesses*, but to *Gentium, id est Idololatrarum in Ecclesie atrio stabulantium*: so there should be a comma at *παραθεσίαν*.

For your second *Qære*, of the Provocation of the Jews by the Gentiles: Me thinks that which was to be unto the Jew as a Provocation to Jealousie, is expressed by S. Paul to be that *salvation which was then come unto the Gentiles*, and not any other thing yet to come; as also the same Apostle saith, he used to magnifie and inculcate so much his title of Apostle of the Gentiles, to the same end. And if the prosperity of the Christian Religion would have done it, by comparing it with their misery, there hath been already sufficient in that respect, to have moved them to jealousy ere this.

For my part, I incline to think that no such thing will provoke them, but that they shall be called

led by vision, and voyce from heaven, as *S. Paul* was; and that that place of *Zach. cap. 12. ver. 10. They shall see him whom they have pierced:* and that of *Matth. 22. verse 39. ye shall not see me henceforth, till you say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;* seems to imply some such matter. They will never beleeve that *Christ* reigns at the right hand of *God*, untill they see him. It must be an invincible evidence which must convert them, after so many hundred yeers settled obstinacy. But this I speak of the body of the Nation; there may be some *praludia* of some particulars converted upon other motives, as a forerunner of the great and main conversion.

I pray consider seriously that pattern of *S. Pauls* conversion, so differing from all other mens that ever were, and how fitly his condition before it, resembles that of the *Jewes* in their bitter obstinacy against *Christ* and *Christians*. Why did *Christ* vouchsafe so strange a call to that man above other men? was it not a pledge or pattern of some thing that should be vouchsafed his Nation? I know not whether *S. Pauls* meaning, but I am sure his words, *1 Tim. 1. verse 16. may be applyed to what I mean.* But all this I write tumultuously, and in some other distractions, and therefore I would not have you heed it further, then to consider of it at your more quiet meditations. *Nihil affirmo, sed propono.*

I had thought, when I began, to propound some thing to your further meditations out of the seventh of *Daniel*; But you see I am grown past a Letter, and can scarce any longer make my Characters legible; and therefore here; with my best respect unto
your

your selfe, I end, desiring God to enlighten us daily more and more in the knowledg of his Truth, and so I remain

*Christ's Colledge,
Nov. 11. 16. 9.*

*Yours to be commanded in all
the duties of friendship,*

Joseph Mede.

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Dr. Meddus, touching
the day of Judgement.*

Worthy S I R,

I Have now found some little time, to make some kinde of Answer to your Letter of the last week save one. You desire me to point out the particulars, wherein I differ from that *Lutheran*; but this I cannot doe without making a censure of the whole discourse, which would ask me some labour, and besides I have not now the book by me. But by the way, the Stationer which told me, he had six of them, was deceived; Indeed hee had six books, which he thought to be the same, but four of them were discourses of law, by some error sorted together with them.

You secondly desire me to point out the places of the Old and New Testament; applyable to my Tenet of the *day of judgement*; where I understand not well, whether you mean of the *Regnum* to be then, or of the acception of the word (*day*) for a long

long space of time, even of a thousand years. But I suppose you mean the former, to which therefore I will say something, the rather because I know you will communicate it to Doctor Twisse, to whom I had intended some such thing in my Letter I sent by you to him: but time would not suffer me to write it then, having spent both it and my paper in other discourses, before I was aware. That which I have to say is this:

The Mother-Text of Scripture, whence the Church of the Jewes grounded the name and expectation of the great day of judgement, with the circumstances thereto belonging; and whereunto almost all the descriptions and expreffions thereof in the New Testament have reference; is that vision in the seventh of *Daniel*, of a Sefſion of Judgement when the fourth beaſt came to be deſtroyed: where this great Aſſiſes is repreſented after the manner of the great *Synedrion* or Conſistory of *Iſrael*; wherein the *Pater Iudicii* had his *Aſſeſſores*, fitting upon ſeats Semicircle-wiſe before him, from his right hand to his left. *I beheld* (ſaith *Daniel*, verſe 9.) *till the * thrones or Seats were pitched down.* (namely, for the Senators to ſit upon; not *thrown down*, as we of late have it:) *and the Ancient of dayes* (*Pater conſistorii*) *did ſit, &c.* And *ſubandi*, *I beheld till the Iudgement was ſet* (that is, the whole *Sanhedrim*) *and the books were opened, &c.*

Here we see both the form of Judgement delivered, and the name of Judgement expressed; which is afterwards yet twice more repeated; First, in the amplification of the tyranny of the *wicked Horn*,
verse

* Vulgar.
lar. *Donec*
libroni positi
sunt, Lxx.
Θ Theo-
dotion, *ἕως*
οἱ θεόνοι
ἐτέθησαν.
Chald.

עַד דִּי
כְּרִסִּית
דְּמִיּוֹ

וּפִי כִּי
usurpatum
de folio in-
venias apud
Chald. Pa-
raph. Jer. i.
verse 15.

וירסון

ubi in He-
braeo est

ונתנו

Septuag.
x) 3100000.

verse 21. 22. which is said to be continued *till the Ancient of dayes came, and Iudgement was given to the Saints of the most High*; i. *potestas judicandi ipsis facta*. And the second time in the Angels interpretation, verse 26. *But the IUDGEMENT shall sit, and they shall take away the dominion to consume and destroy to the end*. Where observe also that cases of Dominion, of Bläspheimie and Apostasie, and the like, belonged to the jurisdiction of the great Sanhedrim.

From this description it came that the Jews gave it the name of יוֹם הַדִּין and יוֹם הַדִּין *dies iudicii*, & *dies iudicii magni*, whence in the Epistle of S. Jude, verse 6. it is called *καίρις μεγάλῃς ἡμέρας*.

From the same description they learned that the destruction then to bee, should bee by fire, because it is said verse 9. *His throne was a fiery flame, and his wheels burning. A fiery stream issued and came forth before him*: and verse 11. *The beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame*.

From the same fountain are derived those expressions in the Gospel, where this day is intimated or described: *The Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven. The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his holy Angels*: For as much as it is said here, *Thousand thousands ministred unto him*, &c. And that Daniel saw *One like the sonne of Man coming with the clouds of Heaven, and he came to the Ancient of dayes, and they brought him*, (or placed him) *neer him*, &c.

Hence S. Paul learned, *The Saints should judge the world*,

world, because it is said, *That many thrones were set,* and verse 22. by way of Exposition, *That judgement was given to the Saints of the most high.*

Hence the same Apostle learned, to confute the false feare of the *Thessalonians*: That the day of Christs second coming was then at hand; Because that day could not be, till the *man of sin* were first come, and should have reigned his time appointed: Forasmuch as *Daniel* had foretold it should be so, and that his destruction should be at the Son of mans appearing in the clouds: whose appearing therefore was not to be till then. This is *ἐμπόρευα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ* in S. Paul; whom the Lord (saith he) shall destroy at the *ἐμπόρευα* of his coming. *Daniels wicked horn*, or *Beast* acting in the *wicked horn*, is S. Pauls *Man of Sin*, as the Church from her Infancie interpreted it.

But to go on: While this judgement sits, and when it had destroyed the *fourth Beast*, the Son of man which comes in the clouds, receives *dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve and obey him*, verse 14. which kingdome is thrice explained afterwards, *To be the kingdom of the Saints of the most high*, verse 18. *These four Beasts* (saith the Angell) *are four Kings which shall arise. But* (*viz.* when they have finished their course) *the Saints of the most high shall take the kingdom, &c.* Again, verse 22. *The wicked horn prevailed, untill the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom.* Again, verse 27. When the fourth Beast reigning in the *wicked horn*, was destroyed, *the kingdom and dominion, and the greatnesse of the kingdome under the whole*

whole heaven shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most high, &c.

These grounds being laid, I argue as followeth.

The kingdom of the Son of Man, and of the Saints of the most high in *Daniel*, begins when the great Judgement sits.

The kingdom in the *Apocalyps*, wherein the Saints reign with Christ a thousand yeers, is the same with the kingdom of the Son of man, and Saints of the most high in *Daniel*.

Ergo; It also begins at the great Judgement.

That the kingdome in *Daniel*, and that of a thousand yeers in the *Apocalyps*, are one and the same kingdome, appears thus:

First, because they began *ab eodem termino*, namely, at the destruction of the fourth beast: That in *Daniel*, when the beast (then ruling in the wicked horn) was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame; *Dan. 7. verse 11. 22. 27.* That in the *Apocalyps*, when the beast and the false Prophet (the wicked horn in *Daniel*) were taken, and both cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone, *Apo. 19 verse 20, 21. &c.*

Secondly, Because *S. Iohn* begins the *Regnum* of a thousand yeers, from the same Session of Judgement described in *Daniel*, as appears by his parallel expression borrowed from thence.

Daniel sayes, cap. 7.

V. 9. I beheld till the thrones were pitched down, and the judgement (i. *Judices*) set.

22. And judgement was gi

S. Iohn sayes, cap. 20.

V. 4. I saw thrones, and they sat upon them.

And Iudgement was gi-
ven

[G g]

ven to the Saints of the
most High.

And the Saints possessed
the kingdom; viz. with
the Sonne of Man who
came in the clouds.

ven unto them.

And the Saints lived
and reigned with Christ
a thousand yeers.

Now if this be sufficiently proved, that the one
thousand yeers begin with the day of Judgement;
it will appear further out of the *Apocalyps*, that the
judgement is not consummate till they be ended:
for *Gog* and *Magogs* destruction, and the universall
Resurrection is not till then: Therefore the whole
one thousand yeers is included in the day of judge-
ment.

*Confectarium de interpretatione aliorum Scriptu-
ra locorum huc pertinentium.*

Hence it will follow, That whatsoever Scripture
speaks of a *kingdom of Christ* to be at his second ap-
pearing, or at the destruction of Antichrist, must
needs be the same which *Daniel* saw should be at that
time; and so consequently be the *kingdom of a thou-
sand yeers* which the *Apocalypse* includes between the
beginning and consummation of the great judgment.

Ergo, That in *Luke* 17. from verse 20. to the end.

And that in *Luke* 19. from the 11. verse to the
15. inclusively.

And that in *Luke* 21. verse 31. when ye see these
things come to passe, know that the kingdom of God
is at hand. See what went before: viz. The Son
of mans coming in a cloud with power and great
glory: borrowed from *Daniel*.

And that in 2 *Tim.* 4. I charge thee before God and
the

Lord Iesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing, and his kingdom.

By these we may understand the rest; taking this for a sure ground, that this expression of the *Son of mans coming in the clouds of heaven*; so often inculcated in the New Testament, is taken from, and hath reference to the prophetic of Daniel, being nowhere else found in the Old Testament. As our Saviour also calls himself so frequently the *Son of man*, because Daniel so called him in that vision of the great judgement, and that we might look for the accomplishment of what is there prophesied of, in him; it was not in vain, that when our Saviour quoted the prophetic of Daniel, he added, *He that readeth, let him understand*. Certainly the great mystery of Christ, is chiefly and most distinctly revealed in that book; which God the Father of lights so enable us with his Spirit, that we may understand to his glory, and our own comfort: Amen.

I pray compare this with the paper I sent you of the four Monarchies, which I called *the *A. B. C. of prophetic*, and with the latter end of my *Specimina de mille annis*; and with my interpretation of *Praconium Tubæ VII*. You shall find the grounds of all this in them.

I have no copy of this I now send: I would desire you when you are weary with reading it, to send me it again, that I may get it transcribed, to save me a labour another time, when some other friend shall make a Quære to like purpose. I finde ever and anon inconvenience for want of such a provision: I will send you it again presently. Before *Christmasse* will

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be

* See Mr. Mede's Answer to Mr. Hain's second letter.

be time enough : I desire to be remembred to Master Doctor Twisse ; to whose Letter I shall make some Answer, when I get some leasure ; now I have none.

Ch. C. Nov. 25,
1619.

Yours , Joseph Mede.

*An Appendix touching the description of the great
Judgement, Mat. 25. accorded with Apoc. 20.*

C Concerning that in *Mat. 25.* when our blessed Saviour shall sit on his *Throne* of Royalty to judge the world, I conceive a figure to be in that expressi-
on of placing the *sheep* on his *right hand*, and the *goats* on the *left*, borrowed from the custom of the Jews in their Tribunals, to place such as were to be *absolved* on the *right hand*, where stood the Scribe which took the Votes for *Absolution*; and those who were to receive the sentence of *condemnation* on the *left hand*, where stood the Scribe which took the Votes for *condemnation*. Such a custome of theirs, *Drusius* in his Annotations upon that place observes out of *Moses de Kotsi*.

That therefore nothing else is meant thereby, but that our Saviour should distinguish the world of men into two orders ; One of such as should receive the sentence of blisse and absolution ; the other of such as should receive the sentence of condemnation: That he should first pronounce the sentence of Absolution on such as are to be absolved; and that once finished, then to pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon such as are to be condemned.

Now I suppose the sentence of Absolution continues

nues

nues all the time of the first Resurrection, that is, all the *thousand yeers* long; that, that once ended and finished, (& not before) he shall proceed to pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon such as are to be condemned: for so the Text saith, that the one sentence shall foregoe the other; And that in the first place he shall pronounce the sentence of Bliss and Absolution, to those who are to be absolved; and that done, then come to the sentence of condemnation upon those who shall be *in statu & ordine damnandorum*; that is, successively and not at one and the same time; though the Scripture in this place mentions not the *Intervallum* to be between the beginning of the one, and the other.

Dr. Twisse his second Letter to Mr. Mede.

Worthy SIR,

I Pray forgive me this once in interrupting your more momentous meditations. Thankfulnesse urgeth me to expresse that your Letter is a jewell unto me; making me partaker of such fruits, and giving me interest in such affections. I professe you have strange conceits, I mean for the worthinesse of them; they possesse me with admiration: especially that touching the manner of the Jewes conversion. Those passages of Scripture, and the reference of them which you make, I doe consider with Reverence: And the particular relation S. Paul makes of himselfe, as first tasting of that Grace, in reference to the like which were to succeed, had he made mention of the miraculous operation in his conversion, as he doth of Gods Long-suffering and Patience, the congruity had been absolute. Yet I seem

[G g 3]

to

to discern something whereby that may be argued also to be implied, for otherwise in likelihood he was not the first.

Yet to object, (for your ingenuity I perceive gives me leave,) S. Paul was a particular person, and then travelling on the way. The conversion we speak of, is of a nation, and that wonderfully dispersed in the world, the like manner of Christs appearing unto whom for their conversion, is hard to conceive. And besides I seem to conceive evidence from 2 Cor. 3. 15, 16. that their conversion shall be wrought from amongst themselves by reading Moses and the Prophets: for it is the veile laid before their Hearts, which hinders them from discerning the end of the law, which is Christ: which veile shall be taken away, and being taken away they shall be turned unto Christ. Yet I confesse the Text saith not, when the veile is taken away, they shall be turned to the Lord; but rather when they shall be turned to the Lord, the veile shall be taken away. Yet again so it is said, Luk. 7. 47. that many sins were forgiven her, for she loved much; yet by the scope of the Parable there proposed, the formall truth appears to be this; She loved much, for many sins were forgiven her. So here it may be argued, that the taking away of their veile, is the cause of their turning to the Lord: for the position of the veile, is that which hinders them from discerning him; therefore the removing of the veile, is the making way for the discerning of him, by that in Moses. Yet I seem to see how this may be answered, the veile hinders from discerning him in the law of Moses: but if God be pleased to manifest his Sonne by sight, the veile can no way hinder that. And why may not the like miraculous favour be shewed to them as well as to S. Paul, their obstinacy being greater, and

and sealed with greater blasphemies then his was? May it not be said that therefore this Apparition was made to Saint Paul, that he might have Apostolicall authority independent on men, as well as the rest of the Apostles? And cannot the spirit of illumination clear all, and that from Moses, as well as it did in the heart of the Gentiles, who had not so much as Moses to direct them?

As for provocation; how can salvation on the Gentiles part be it unto the Jewes, seeing the Jewes (such is their blindnesse) cannot acknowledge any such condition of the Gentiles? yet I confesse the judgement of flesh and blood may teach them, that the Gentiles becoming Christians, are turned to the worship of the God of Abraham, as appears by their embracing of the Old Testament as the word of God; yet this hitherto hath nothing moved them; yet a time may come that it may, and the prosperity of our Church also. And it is said, that they shall obtaine mercy by the mercy shewed unto us, Rom. 11. 31.

As for the black time to be expected; if so, it seems to bee wondrous great, if not greater then all that went before: for the time hath been, the strong man hath so farre possessed the house of God in peace, that scarce here and there a witnesse hath been found openly to contest against him in this or that particular. And the dayes of the persecution of the Waldenses, were wonderfull heavy times: And we have seen many black dayes for many yeeres. And if it be so, as I doubt it is too probable, and most congruous to Gods course indeed in the exaltation of his Church, I doubt it will concern our England most; yet God grant we may be of the number of those that suffer, that within

[G g 4]

three

three dayes and a halfe, we may be raised, and reign with Christ at his coming.

But will you not make us acquainted with that sinne you intimate that cries for vengeance? we are loth to aduocate our conjectures, but we dare promise to joyn in mourning for it. But I heartily thank you for all, and particularly for that speculation of the untimely advancing of the Martyrs to a reigne derogatory to the mediation of our Lord, a bitter fruit of too irregular animosity against the Chiliaists; and of very ponderous consideration in this case. I have done, with some sorrow, for putting out of your minde better thoughts: I assure you the place you are pleased to afford me in your good affections, I esteem as a part of the best happiness I enjoy in friends, and heartily wish I may not be unworthy of it. I heartily commend your selfe, and your precious studies to the blessing of God, and rest

Newbury, Nov. 16.
1629.

Yours in all true Affection,
Will. Twisse.

Nr.

M^r Mede's Answer to Doctor Twisse his second
Letter.

SIR,

I Owe an answer to your Letter, though I can scarce finde time to attend it. Some I have now gotten, and therefore desire you to vouchsafe to reade and accept these few lines.

The *Apocalypse* mentions two wars of the *Beast*: one to be in *medio Testium luctu*: another when the *witnesses* began to make an end of mourning. The first, while the Court of the Temple was wholly trodden down, and prophaned by the Gentiles. The latter, when it began to be purged, and so the cause of the *witnesses* mourning to be removed. In these two wars we may observe in the description these differences: First, the *intermedium bellum* is said to be against the whole body of the Saints, cap. 13. ver. 7 *And it was given unto him to make war with the Saints, and overcome them.* But the *Bellum novissimum* is against the Prophets, or *witnesses* only: *The beast which ascends out of the bottomlesse pit, shall make war with the witnesses, and overcome and kill them,* c. 11. v. 7. This difference is remarkable, and to be considered for the better understanding of this last war, and how it differs from that formerly against the *Waldenses* &c. Secondly, in the former, his prevailing and success is absolute, so that *all kindreds, tongues, and nations, submit unto him, and worship him,* c. 12. v. 7. 8. But in the latter. some of the people [*ἐκ τῶν λαῶν*, &c.] and of the kindreds and
tongues

tongues, and nations, shall be an obstacle to the perfecting and securing his victory, as not suffering him when he shall have slain the *witneses*, to bury them and make them sure, in hope to recover them. Thirdly, the first prevailed many ages; this latter but three daies and an half. Adde, if you will, (though it be included in the former) the first advanced his Dominion to that height it came to; this latter shall occasion his utter ruine and downfall.

These differences I thought good to propound to your consideration, to intimate that the scantling cannot be well taken from (perhaps, for) that against the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses*, &c. as being to be of another kinde; namely, an extermination of the reformed Pastours out of their places and Churches, and not a generall extermination of the body of reformed people, which are too many to be dealt with according to former violence, and which shall remain to terrifie the Beast, and revenge the *Clades* of the Prophets, before almost they shall have done rejoycing over them.

For my conceit of the manner of the *Jews conversion*, though it often solicits me to give credence to it, as best becomming the greatest work that God yet did for that people, for whom in former times he shewed so many wonders: yet I will ingenuously confesse, the grounds I have hitherto found, seem not to my self sufficient to build a firm assent upon; but onely by a kinde of concinnity induce to a pleasing, but a wavering conjecture. And therefore it were to little purpose to contend much for that, wherein

wherein my self have no sufficient confidence. I use to object to my self, that the appearing of Christ in heaven, belongs to the time of his second coming : but the *Jews* must be converted before then, lest all should perish amongst the enemies of his kingdome, whereof they would be the principall. I save it with a supposition, of some latitude in that appearance, as being first to be uttered with some preparation or *praludium* towards the Jewish Nation, before his great and universall appearing to the whole world to judgement. So *Cestius Gallus*, the President of *Syria*, compassed *Jerusalem* with an army by way of anticipation, three yeers before the finall and farall siege by *Vespasian*, to be for a warning to the beleaving *Jews*, to flee into the mountains of *Arabia*, according to our Saviours signe given them, *Luke* 21. ver. 20.

For strengthening of such a supposition, me thinks I discern in *S. Matthew* (the Hebrew Evangelist) c. 24. v. 30. two such appearances intimated : The one in the words, *Then shall appeare the signe of the Son of man in heaven, and all the Tribes of the earth shall mourne*, (out of *Zach. 12. v. 10, 11, 12.*) The other in the words following ; *And they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory*, (out of *Dan. 7.*) But here I finde a rub, which I cannot yet get over : For this appearing of the signe of the Son of man in heaven, aswell as his coming in the clouds with great glory, is said to be immediately after that tribulation of those daies ; that is, (as I am wont to expound it) soon after the long tribulation of the Jewish Nation shall be ended.

ed. But their tribulation shall not end till they be converted. Therefore their conversion must needs precede the signe of the Son of Man in heaven there mentioned. Here I stick.

But your objections I think I could answer thus: As first, to that of the *Jews* conversion, to be wrought by the *taking away the veil from their hearts*, 2 Cor. 3. I could answer, that that is the internall cause of their conversion; or, if you will, the act of the Spirit of God illuminating and converting them; as he that takes away the film from the eyes of him that sees not, or the hood from him that is hood-winkr, does by that act make him see: but I speak of the externall cause or means of the *Jews* conversion, such as in the ordinary administration of God is the preaching of the word; but extraordinarily may be by miracle, as was in the conversion of *Paul*, who neverthelesse had the *Mosaicall veile* taken from his heart, as well as the rest of his Nation, when they are converted, shall have.

But by the way, because you mention that place *Luk. 7. 47.* give me leave to adde. That *ὅτι* signifies in Scripture not onely *quia* or *quoniam*, but also the redditive thereto, which is *Idèò*, *propterea*, because namely the Hebrew particle *ו*, to which *ὅτι* answers, signifies both, as appears *Psal. 116. v. 10.* compared with *2 Cor. 4. 13. ubi ו in Hebræo à Paulo exponitur δὴ.* And *Gen. 22. 17. Item Eccles. 1. 6.* See our English. In both which places *ו* is both the causall *Quoniam*, and the redditive thereto, *Idèò*. Now the Scripture is wont to extend the Greek words it useth, unto the full notion of the Hebrew or Chaldeæ, to which they

they answer (as may be proved by many examples) though in the Greek use they signified not so This Dialect is called *Lingua Hellenistica* (spoken by the *Hellenists* or Greekish *Jews* which lived dispersed under the Greek Empire) whose property is to accommodate *verba Græca notioni Orientis*: But no such ground can be shewen (I think) for saying *quando*, to signifie the reddivive *tunc*.

To your other objection, How such a vision could be manifested to the *Jews*, dispersed in severall parts of the world? I could answer, That a vision or apparition in heaven may be seen to the greatest part of the world at the same time (as stars and comets are.) how else shall the appearing of our Saviour in the clouds of heaven, at his coming to judgement, be seen at once to so many nations of the world?

But here is one thing more considerable, from the miraculous conversion of *S. Paul*, upon supposall that that of the *Jews* may be like it: *viz.* That though many were present with *S. Paul* at that time, yet none saw the apparition of Christ, nor heard him speak, but *Paul* alone, for whose sake he appeared. The rest saw indeed a strange light, and heard the voyce of *Paul* replying and answering, but they heard not the voyce: nor saw any that spake unto him, which therefore made them astonished. Compare *Acts* 9. 7. (where it is said, *They heard Pauls voice*) with *Acts* 22. 9. where it is said, *They heard not the voice of him that spake unto him*. And take heed here of some of our English Bibles, which have put in a [not] where it should not be, as they have

Or, I could say, This apparition might be vouchsafed to some chief ones of them, whom God should chuse; and they, as witnesses, make it known to the rest.

have done the like in other places. Fie upon such carelesse Printers. But to the matter; what if the like may be at the *Jews* conversion; to wit, that they alone shall see and heare the voice of Christ, but none of the *Gentiles* amongst whom they dwell, though perhaps some strange light for a testimony, may at that instant surprisethe whole world, to the astonishment of the Nations? therein consider that of *Mat.* 24. 27. and the places of the other Evangelists answering thereto.

And what if the *Jews* upon such an apparition, may have, as *S. Paul* had, an *Ananias* too, or (as they expect) an *Elias*, to instruct them? So you know the ancient Christian Church beleevd, from *Mal.* 4 5. *Mat.* 17. 11. *Eccl.* 48. 10. For though the Fathers as well as the *Jews* might erre, concerning the person and circumstances of this *Elias*; yet it follows noe presently, but the substance of the opinion might be true. But I will not discover all my roving speculations, unlesse I had better ground for them; lest perhaps I should make you more then wonder at me. Howsoever it be, I suppose it is no sin, to conceive *magnificè* and *απερίωτος* of so great a work of God towards a people, for whom he hath formerly shewed so many wonders; especially this being to be the greatest work of mercy and wonder that ever he did for them; far beyond the bringing them forth of *Egypt*. and leading them in the wilderness, &c. Consider it.

Besides, it may be there is a president already extant: Sure I am, when I had entertained this conceit into my meditation, I was led by I know not what

what providence (as I was searching some other matter) to finde an history of the greatest multitude of the *Jews*, that ever I think were converted since the Apostles times, to have been convinced by such a miraculous apparition in every respect as I had apprehended.

The story (if it be true) hapned about some 370. yeeres after Christ, in the daies of *Justinus* the Greek Emperour, (though *Bigneus* puts it a hundred yeeres before) in the kingdome of the *Omerites*, some write *Homerites*, in *Arabia Felix*. Where the *Jews* in those parts (being a strong party) had challenged to a publick disputation, a Christian city and kingdome in that Tract, upon condition, that if they could not convince the Christians by strength of Reason and Scripture, they would become Christians; if they could, they required the Christians should turn Jews.

The disputation was performed three daies together *sub dio*, in a full assembly of the King, his Peers, and people, between *Gregentius* Bishop of *Tephra*, and *Herbanus*, champion for the *Jews*, who were there assembled with him. The third day *Herbanus* required, to end the controversie, that if *Jesus* of *Nazareth* were indeed living, and reigning in heaven, and if those who worshipped him had any power with him, that he would upon their prayers manifest himself from heaven, and they would then believe in him. Thereupon all the multitude of the *Jews* cried out in derision. *Ostenda nobis Christum tuum. Vt quia siemus Christiani, &c.*

The conclusion was, that Christ *Jesus*, after a dread-

dreadfull thunder and lightning, appeared from heaven with beams of glory, walking upon a purple cloud, with a sword in his hand, and a Diadem of inestimable beauty upon his head, and over the assembly uttered a voice, *Appareo in oculis vestris ego crucifixus à Patribus vestris*. Which having spoken, the cloud tooke him presently out of their sight. The Christians shouted, *Dòmine miserere*; the Jews were all stricken blinde, and received not their sight till they were all baptized.

This story (whereof I tell you but the brief) hath been long unknown to these Western parts, and brought in our time from the Eastern among divers other Greek Manuscripts, and published in Greek and Latine by *Nicolaus Gulonius* in octavo, under the name of *Gregentii Archiepiscopi Tephrensensis Disputatio cum Herbano Judæo*. The beginning is imperfect: In the end is the story I have related. I have seen and used that book, but could not be owner of it. But the Latine translation is inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in the edition of *Colem*, in the fifth Tome, pag. 919. which if you reade, I could wish you would joyne with it the story of *Martyrium Omeritarum* published by *Baronius* out of a Vatican Manuscript, in his sixth *seculum* about the middle. It is worthy your reading, and supposed to have hapned a little before this conversion of the Jews, I speak of: which *Baronius* neverthelesse then knew not of, as being published after that Tome. The persecution was raised by *Dunaan* a Jew, who had gotten the kingdome of the *Omerites*, and meant to extinguish the Christian City and Dition of *Nargan*, which

which was subject, as many other small *Reguli* were, to that kingdome, &c.

If this story be true, it makes much for a probability of such a conjecture for the future. If it be counterfeit, at least it argues that some, many ages ago, thought such a meane not unlikely: For Poets themselves are wont to feign *Verisimilia*. So howsoever, I am not the first that thought of such a matter.

That which you say of *S. Pauls* miraculous conversion, that by it he had Apostolicall authority immediate and independent, as having his mission from heaven, and not from men; I acknowledge it. But that this should be the onely end of his so being converted, I suppose it is not necessary: For it might have pleased God to have converted him by an ordinary means, and yet have given him a Mission for his Apostleship by an immediate and extraordinary way. The immediatenesse of Apostolicall Mission depended not upon such a miraculous conversion, though it pleased God at one and the same time, by one and the same miraculous manifestation, both to convert him to the faith of Christ, and send him to be an Apostle to the *Gentiles*.

But it is now time to give over. I have been tedious and troublesome I know, and perhaps not well busied in spending so many words and paper, about a wavering and uncertain speculation. But because in my first Letter, I had unawares discovered my fancy, I was somewhat solicitous till I had more fully explained my self, lest I might seem

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to beleieve much upon very little reason, or be supposed to be more confident in this conceit then I am. But he that seeks for that which is yet to finde, must be poring as well where it is not, as where it is: God Almighty, the Father of lights, direct us in the search of his truth, and give us grace when we finde it, to use it to his glory, and our own salvation. To whose protection I commend your self, not forgetting my best respect, who am

*Christs Coll. Decemb. 2.
1629.*

Your assured Friend,
Jos. Mede.

I shall bid you farewell for this yeer; and write shorter Letters the next, that so I may hold out. I have made a *salvus* in my Meditations by these Discourses of the great Day. I am not come to it yet: I have much to think of, and bring to more perfection, which is preceding to it. The *Witnesses, Dragon, Beast, &c.*

Mr.

Mr. Mason's Letter to Mr. Mede, touching the
Millenaries.

Good Mr. Mede,

I Think my self much indebted unto you, that you do so freely communicate unto me your learned Writings. I wish I had been more conversant in studies of this nature, that I might in some sort be able to talk with you in your own language. But you have had the happinesse to follow these studies with good leisure and much opportunity; and I (to say nothing of other wants) have been hindered both with busineses of my place, and weaknesse of my body, that I have scarce had time to think of any thing, but what hath been necessary for my present employment; and so it hapneth to me. in my studies, as to poore men in getting of their living, we have nothing but from hand to mouth. I wish I may see the perfecting of your intended work, and so do others abroad also: but yet I had rather stay your leisure, till you have concocted all according to your minde, then to hasten you forward before your time. Dr. Potter hath read your former Papers, which you committed to Mr. D. and by occasion thereof hath proceeded to read others of the same argument; which when I understood, I desired him to peruse two Writings of D. Gerhard, of the same argument, both purposely intended against the Millenaries; the one is in the second part of his Disputationes Theologicæ, Disp. 3. de novis fanaticis; the other in the ninth Tome of his Common Places, loc. de consummatione sæculi, cap. 7. p. 442, &c. Upon the

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reading of those Treatises, he sent a Letter, expressing his minde and judgement concerning them, which I received this evening: And because I know you desire to heare the opinion of learned men, I have sent down inclosed herein. so much of his Letter as concerneth that businesse. Which I did the rather also, because I suppose this may give you occasion to answer such grounds, as Gerhard hath laid to the contrary. Perhaps, if you consider him well, you may finde a tacite Answer to that which you object against S. Hierome, for laying an imputation on the Millenaries, as if they dreamed of earthly pleasures in this kingdome of our Lord; for he saith that (as Dr. Gerhard thinks) of the Cerinthians and Jews, not of the ancient Fathers; how truly, I leave it to your consideration and judgement. In the Margin of your Notes on Justin Martyr, I noted a place to the same purpose in Lactantius; It is in black lead, and may easily be wiped out, if it be nothing to your purpose. Dr Potter signified in a former Letter, that he had a purpose to write to you; perhaps he is not yet ready for that which he meaneth to say; but if he send his Letter this way, I will take care to send it down by the Carrier. In the meantime, and ever, I commend you and your studies to the blessing of the Almighty; and so for the present I leave you.

S. Andrew Oxenbush,
Decemb. 10. 1629.

Your ever assured Friend,

Henry Mason.

Dr.

*Dr. Potter his Letter to Mr. Mason, touching
the Millenaries.*

Good Mr. Mason,

I Have read those two large and learned Discourses of *Gerhard* against the *Millenaries*,* and finde him (as his wont is) to be very diligent both in recounting the opinions of other men, and in the establishing of his own. By him I see, the conceit is ancient among our later Writers, and favoured by many ignorant and fanaticall spirits, which I confesse casts much envy upon the conjecture. But yet me thinks the consent of so many great and worthy lights of the ancient Primitive Church, doth more honour and countenance the opinion, then it can be disgraced or obscured by these late blinde abettors. Secondly, the Anabaptists and their fellows are confident, where Mr. *Mede* doth but modestly conjecture; and that thirdly, upon other and better grounds, then their dreaming doting heads ever thought of. Lastly, the devil himself may sometime speak truth, and so may his disciples, with an ill intention, or at hazard; Πολλάκι τοι καὶ μῶρον αἶψα μάλα καίρον εἶπε. I suppose no learned man or Christian can deny, that the nation of the *Jews* shall be once hereafter called by Gods mercy to the faith; and that their generall conversion will bring with it a great and glorious alteration in the Church; and therefore that kingdome of our Lord upon earth, howsoever in some circumstances it may not answer our hopes (which may be ungrounded

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ded and deceived) yet for substance it seems an indisputable truth. But Prophecies are mysteries till their accomplishment; let us therefore leave them to God, and to the Posterity: Θεὺ ἐν γένεσι καί ται. I have received *Philostatus* and *Origen*, &c.

C. P.

These ensuing Discourses without date, were M. Medes answers to some Letters which are not to be found, but (probably) writ about this time.

A Discourse tending to prove by cleare demonstrations, That the Antichristian or Apostaticall times are more then three single yeers and an half.

1. **B**Ecause impossible so many things, and of such quality as are to be performed in this time, should be done in three single yeers and an half; as first, ten kingdoms founded at the same houre with the Beast, *cap. 17*. Secondly, peoples and multitudes of nations and tongues to serve and obey him, *cap. 13*. Thirdly, to make war with the Saints, and overcome them, *ibid*. Fourthly, to cause all that dwell upon the earth to worship him. Fifthly, *Babylon* to ride the Beast so long, that all nations shall drink the wine of her fornication. Sixthly, The Merchants, and all those that had ships in the sea, to grow rich by trading with her. These things should ask more then three yeers work, or foure either.

2. Because that king, state of government, soveraignty, seignory, (or what you will) of the Beast, under which the Whore should ride him, followeth

loweth immediately upon a former, which in comparison is said to continue but a *short space*, *Revel.* 17. 10. But if the Antichristian state shall continue but three yeers and a half literally taken; how short must the time of that foregoing king or sovereignty be, which should occasion the holy Ghost to *insert* so singular a note of the difference thereof from that which followed, *That it should continue but a short space?* Doth not this imply, that the next state (wherein the Whore should ride the Beast) was to continue a *long space*?

3. Because if the 1260. *daies of the witnesses* (which begin and end with the time of Antichrist) be literally to be taken, then must their *three daies and an half*, wherein they lye slain by the Beast, *cap.* 11. 9. be so taken also: but how is it possible the nations and people of the earth should make feasts, send gifts and presents one unto another in *three daies and an half*? How should the *half day* be a competent time to distinguish or limit any of the actions there mentioned? If the holy Ghost had meant nothing but daies, would he have been so precise for half a day?

4. Because six of the Trumpets and the things which they bring to passe, by necessity of contemplation, are included in the compasse of the Antichristian time; two whereof by the expresse times mentioned in them (in the fifth of five moneths; in the sixth of 13.) take up a yeer and half, that is neer half the time: which though far too little (if literally taken, for the great things prophecied in them, yet what time will they leave for the four other

trumpets, and for the seven vials, which all are poured out upon the Beast, and afore his times are finished? What time alone will the sixth Viall require for *preparing the way for the kings of the East, for the frogs to go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battell of that great day of God Almighty, &c.*

5. Lastly, from the event. If Antichrists times last no longer then is supposed, then either are they past long ago, or that sixth *Roman head*, which in *S. Johns time was*, is yet still in being. But that cannot be, when neither *Greek* nor *Latine Caesar* are now remaining. If any say, the *Latine Caesar* yet remains in the *Germane Empire*, as that which succeeded unto it. I demand, what succession can that be, where was neer 350. yeers interruption; a longer time then some famous Monarchies have had for their whole continuance? If the *Casarean state* may revive and continue the same after so many yeers *interregnum*, how shall we ever know when it is dead for adoe, and the time come that Antichrist should be looked for? Besides, if the times of Antichrist be so short, and therefore yet to come (as they must be unlesse they be longer) then are we yet under the times of the *Red Dragon*, and all the trumpets yet to come. Let it be shewn how this can be. If it appeare we are not under those times of the *Dragon*, then none of the *Revelation* is yet fulfilled.

Object. But what example elsewhere in Scripture of days signifying yeers?

Answer. *Daniels seventy weeks.* But you will say, the Etymologie of the Hebrew word שבע is as applicable

ble to *sevens of yeers*, as *sevens of daies*; and therefore this instance proves not. I answer, the question lies not in the Etymologie but the use, whercin שבוע alwaies signifies *sevens of daies*, and never *sevens of yeers*; wheresoever it is absolutely put, it means of *days*, is no where used of *yeers*.

Object. But in the tenth of *Daniel* we finde, as it were for distinction sake, *weeks of daies*, which intimates there are *weeks of yeers*, which the use of the word might indifferently signifie.

I answer, it is ill translated; the Vulgar is better, which hath *daies of weeks*, *Lugebam trium hebdomadarum diebus*; meaning, that *Daniel* fasted and did eat no meat in the day time for three weeks together, or some such like sense, *Gen. 29. 28*. The *week* which *Laban* would have *Jacob* fulfill, before he gave him *Rachel*, was not the seven yeers service, but the seven daies of *Leahs* wedding-feast, as the *Targum* translates, and the Vulgar, *Imple hebdomadam dierum hujus copula*, nor can it be otherwise by the age of *Rachels* children. Secondly, let it be shewen in all the Prophecy of *Daniel*, (or, for ought I know, in any other of the Prophets) where *times* of things prophesied, expressed by *daies*, are not to be understood of *yeers*: For when the Angel means *daies* in *Daniel*, he expresseth it therefore not by *daies* (for so it were doubtfull) but by *evenings* and *mornings*, *cap. 8. 7.* where he speaks of the time of the persecution of *Antiochus*.

J. M.

A

*A Discourse of the beginning and ending of the
42. moneths, or 1260. daies, Rev. II.*

S I R,

I Waved not the question of *the ending* of the *forty two moneths* more then of the *beginning*; for as I designed the beginning in a *latitude*, so by consequent I do the ending. If they begin between the yeers 365. and 455. they must end between the yeers 1625. and 1715. Onely I refused precisely to determine the yeer of the ending, which for some reasons I suppose should not certainly be known, till the event should make it manifest, according as was not the precise beginning of the seventy yeers of the Babylonish captivity, till the event discovered it by the ending. For when the *articuli* are more then one to begin at, who can determine at which God will reckon the beginning, and consequently at what precise yeer shall be the ending? Yet as God accompted the seventy yeers of the Babylonish captivity, from a remarkable moment of that latitude of time the *Jews* were entring into; so I beleeeve the same all-wise God will do the period of the forty two moneths, from some remarkable moment in the latitude of their beginning; howsoever, because such remarkable moments or tearms are more then one, all that we can say is, That it shall be from some one of them, and it may be from some one we observe not, God in his wisdom (till he sees fit) veiling it from our eyes. For *Alstedius*, I will ingenuously confesse, I had never observed

observed those passages of his Chronology you acquaint me with, as having never been, nor yet am owner of that book, though I think I want few of his other writings, in which I have met with many passages tending to the same purpose, with these of his Chronology here and there scattered, but no where so fully, and *ex proposito*, I sought up and down for the book, and some two days since, I got a sight of it so long as to read the pages you quote, and no longer; yet because you desire my judgment of the *years* he setteth down, I will answer something for your satisfaction; and first lay the ground to examine them by. (*viz.*) The Holy Ghost reckoneth the *Epocha* or beginning of *Antichrist*, and his *Apostaticall* times, from the taking of that which hindred out of the way, that is, the then reigning imperiall Sovereignty of *Rome*, 2 *Thess.* 2. 6. 8. or as *S. John* expresseth it, from the deadly wound of the head or Sovereignty of the *Roman Beast*, which in his time ruled, or the shivering of the Empire into a plurality of kingdoms upon that deadly wounding, *Apoc.* 13. 3. with chap. 17. 12. when that great City should cease to be the lappe of that Sovereignty which the *Cæsars* once held over the nations; and many new upstart Kings should appear in the place and territory of that once *One* Empire; Then should the King of Apostasy with the wicked one make their entrance: Therefore as the *Epocha* or beginning of the *Apostatical* times in a latitude is to be fetched from that deadly blow or downfall of the *Cæsarian head* in a latitude; So he that would conjecturally point out any precise yeer; where to begin those

those times, must doe it from some remarkable step or degree of the *Casarean* blow or downfall in the same latitude; Where note further that the *Casarean* blow or downfall may be accompted double. First, *religious* and sacred, as he was *Draconicola*, by a dismounting and dethroning of the *Dragon*, which actuated and enlived him: Secondly, *politically*, by the ruine of his state and Majesty; Some of the places I now quoted, may seem more to respect the one, some more the other: *Antichrist* we see hath cured them both, the first by a new Idolatry, the second by his usurped Tyranny.

Let us examine *Alstedius* his four *Epochæ* according to this ground. The first is, *Anno Christi*, 362. which was ill pitched, it being the very time of the *Dragon's* recovery of the Imperiall Throne under *Julian*, not any moment or step of his dismounting; and the Empire flourishing under one Monarchy, not falling or dishivering. Nor is his reason good, because *then* began the persecution of *Julian*; For that argues that the *Dragon* was not yet down: nor the other, because of the Schismaticall contention of the *Roman* Popes; For what reason can there be why the Schisme of the Popes should be the *Epocha* of the dominion, and of the times of Apostasy under them? Besides, the event shewes this was no *Epocha* of the 42. moneths, for then the expiration of them should have appeared, *Anno* 1622. by some mortall blow to the *Antichristian* state; but it proved contrary. *Alstedius* addeth the three yeers and an halfe of the slaughter of the *witnesses* to the end thereof, hoping they would have revived, *Anno* 1625. but alas they did

did not; He that would choose an *Epocha* about *Julians* time, might with much more probability have pitched upon 365. because then upon *Julian's* death, the *Dragon* was dethroned again from the Imperiall rule, never to recover it any more: Howsoever the *Draconicall* or *Ethnicke* worship, which *Julian* had restored, was publickly exercised by allowance of the succeeding Emperors (though Christians) and not put down for many yeers after; wherefore the event hath made manifest that God would none of this *Epocha*, else should we have seen some tokens of it ere this time.

The next is, *Anno 376.* from whence the months would expire, 1636. This hath more probability then any other he hath named, because the yeer 376. was the beginning of the Reign of the Emperour *Gratian*, who first of all the Christian Emperors renounced the great *Pontificality* long annexed to that Imperiall dignity; and refused the *Pontificall Stole*, when it was tendred him according to the custome by the *Collegium Pontificum*, saying it was unlawfull for a Christian, whereas all the former Emperours (*mirabile dictu*) had admitted it, being enstalled and enstyled still *Pontifices maximi*, and according to that office, ordered all businesse concerning the *Ethnick* ceremonies by their deputies; so long therefore as the Emperours were still the *Dragon's Pontifices*, he had yet some title, at least some titular dignity in the *Roman* Sovereignty: And the loosing thereof may be reckoned a remarkable step of his dismounting and downfall; And so no marvail if he might then be brought to go seek out some other *Pontifex*

to

to undertake his service. But the doubt will be here, whether it were this year, wherein *Gratian* rejected the *Pontificality*, or some other; For the year is not yet set down in Story, only it may most probably be thought to be the *first* year of his Reign, à *more Patris*, for he was created *Augustus* in his Fathers life time. Secondly, in the same year 376. the *Goths* entred the *Empire*; and so the foundation was laid also of the *Politick* downfall of the same. But what *Afstedius* his reasons be to pitch upon that *Epocha* I know not, he seems for this, and the rest of his *Chronology* to rely upon Astrologick grounds from the great conjunction. But though I beleve these rarer conjunctions may fit and dispose the bodies of men for some such work as God will do by them, yet I think them not sufficient to determine times, especially seeing they have not influence upon polities and estates directly, and *quà talia*, but only make some extraordinary impressions upon the bodies of particular men borne under them, which being many, when they come to years, may cause a predominancy of some singular disposition in their lives, fit for such alteration and changes, as God shall direct and lead them to.

His third *Epocha* is 382. which would bring out the moneths *Anno* 1642. Of this I see no reason he gives but Astrologick, the insufficiency whereof for that purpose I have already shewed; He might with greater probability have pitched upon 394. when was that famous battail and victory of *Theodosius* against *Eugenius* and *Arbogastus*, coming with a mighty Army to restore *Ethnicisme*, which *Theodo-*
sius

sius had utterly abolished, and after which Ethnicisme never made head any more in the Empire: This therefore might be reckoned for another remarkable moment of the Dragon's downfall. Or he might have pitched upon the year 410. the time when *Alaricus* took and sacked *Rome*, the Lady of the world; a most remarkable moment of the political ruine of the *Cæsarean* Sovereignty: The former of these *Epochæ*s would bring out the 42. moneths, Anno 1654. The latter, 1670. But all these things depend upon the divine will, *In cujus manu sunt tempora & opportunitates.*

His last *Epocha* is 433. from which the 42. months would expire Anno 1693. For this *Epocha* of his I finde no reason but *à posteriori*, drawne from the expiring of *Daniels* numbers, *Dan.* 12. 11, 12. which he addeth one upon the head of another, and so makes 2625. to the end of the world, which reckoned from the destruction of *Ierusalem*, will come out Anno *Christi*, 1644. At which time the 42 moneths of *Anti-christ* must be finished, because then the 1000. years of *Christs* Reign beginne: Now if the 32. moneths end then, they began about 433.

This is the sum of that computation: But for my part I think the meaning of those dayes in *Daniel*, to be to another purpose, then to design the end of the world.

Secondly, That they are not to be reckoned one upon the head of another, but both from one and the same beginning.

Thirdly, that their *Epocha* is not the destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Titus*, but that prophanation of the Temple

deny either *Rome*, which now is, to be *Babylon*, or the *Beast* to bee *Antichrist*, or *Antichristendome*; which those who opposed the Ancient *Chilias*ts found so necessary, as forced them (having no other way to avoyd their Adversaries) directly to deny the *Apocalyps* to be *Scripture*, nor was it readmitted till they thought they had found some commodious interpretation of the 1000. years. And yet the *Apocalyps* hath more humane (not to speak of divine) authority then any other book of the New Testament besides, even from the time it was first delivered. But we see what the zeal of opposition can do. This *Dogma* of the 1000. years *Regnum*, was the generall opinion of all Orthodox Christians in the age immediately following the Apostles, if *Iustin Martyr* say true, and none known to deny it then but Hereticks, which denied the resurrection, and held that the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, was not the Father of our Lord *Iesus Christ*: This was the reason why *Irenaeus* maintained it in his book *Contra omnes Hareses*, and *Tertullian* against the *Marcionites*, cap. 3. *Eusebius* who found out one *Gaius* to father it upon *Cerinthus*, deserves no credit; he was a party, and one of those which did his best to undermine the authority of the *Apocalyps*, nor did any know of any such *Gaius* but from his relation: And if there were any such, he should seem to be one of the Heretiques called *Alogi*, who denied both *Iesus*, *Gospell*, and *Apocalyps*, as is testified in *Epiphanius*: And their time jumps with the age which *Eusebius* assigns to *Gaius*, yet I deny nor but some might maintain very carnall

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and intolerable conceits, about the *Regnum* of a thousand yeeres, as the *Mahumetans* doe about their Paradise; But these are not to be imputed unto those Primitive Fathers, and Orthodox Christians. *S. Hierom* was a chief Champion to cry down this opinion, and according to his wont, a most unequall relator of the opinion of his adversaries; what credit he deserves in this, may appear by some fragments of those Authours still remaining, whom he charged with an opinion directly contrary to that which they expressly affirmed. And yet when hee had stated it so, as it must needs bee Heresie and Blasphemy, whosoever should hold it; he is found to say he durst not damne it, because *multi virorum Ecclesiasticorum & Martyrum ista dixerunt. Comment. in Jerem. 19. 10.*

In a word, I cannot choose but agree so farre with them, that these 1000. yeeres are yet to come: This I hold with *Alstedius*, but what shall be the *modus* and *condition* of that kingdom, that is, what it means; it may be I have some singular conceit differing from them both: I am sure from *Alstedius*, *Piscator*, and others of that opinion; but I were better speak nothing thereof, then too little, and to speak fully, would require in a manner the interpretation of the whole *Apocalyps*: In a word, I will reveale thus much, *viz.* that the *seventh Trumpet*, and *mille Anni*, or a thousand yeeres contained therein, is that *Magnus dies Domini*, and *Magnus dies judicii*, or *dies magni judicii*, so much celebrated amongst the *Jewes* in all their writings;
And

And from them taken up by our Saviour and his Apostles: not a day of a few houres as we commonly suppose, *sed continuatum multorum annorum intervallum*, wherein *Christ* shall destroy all his enemies, and at length death it selfe, beginning with *Antichrist*, by his revelation from heaven in flaming fire, and ending with the universall resurrection; during which space of time shall be the *kingdome of the Saints in the new Ferusalem*. This I can affirm with the most that *Antichrist* shall not be finally destroyed, till the day of Christs appearing unto Judgement; and yet not fall into that which some charge the *Chiliafts* with, that this *Reigne* should be after the day of Judgement: For I give a third time, in or *durante magno die judicii*, in or during the day of Judgement.

This *Kingdome* of our Lord to follow upon the sounding of the seventh Trumpet (at the appearing whereof in severall visions, the Quire of *Wights and Elders sing and worship before the Throne*, ch. 7. 11. ch. 11. 16. ch. 19 4.) what it means, and what shall be therein, Posterity will better understand: Perhaps we may be as wide of the meaning thereof, as our forefathers were of the state and condition of the Times of Antichrist; yet as they missed not of the main, but erred in the manner and particular circumstances: so would it be considered, whether the conceipt the Ancients had of this *kingdom of Christ*, contains not likewise some generall truth received from the eldest times, though deformed with some misconceits and idle fancies of their own.

Wherein Mr. Mede differs from the Authour of the
Analyticall Table, &c.

As for the Authour of the *Analyticall Table* of the *Apocalyps*, he differs from me wholly in the 20. Chapter, and follows Mr. *Brightman*. What I conceive, you may finde in my *Commentationes Apocalypticae*. My difference will appear by these particulars.

1. I hold but one *Millennium*, & that to begin at the destruction of the Beast; he holds two, one beginning at *Constantine*, another at the destruction of the Beast.

2. I deny that Satan was ever yet tyed up, much less at the time of *Constantine*. Tis one thing to be dethroned and thrown down from heaven, (that was at the time of *Constantine*;) another thing to be bound and close prisoner, and not so much as peep out of his dungeon. See my *Synchronismes*, *Clav. Apocal. Part. 2 Synch 4. pag. 22. 23.*

3. I take the *Resurrections*, both of them, *First* and *Second*, to be proper and reall; He Metaphoricall. Tis not safe to deprive the Church of those texts whereon her faith of the Resurrection is builded. For this interpretation will necessarily rob us of that of *Daniel* also *ch. 12.* whereon I beleeve the Church of the Old Testam. built her faith of that article, there being no such evident place besides in all the Old Testament.

4. Hee seemes to appropriate the second *Millennium* (which I think the onely) to the glory of the Jewes onely; I extend it to the whole *Catholic Church* of the Gentiles, when the Jewes shall come into the fold; and that the *Apocalyps* is properly and primarily the *Gentiles Prophecy*, I mean of the Church of the Gentiles, and of the Jewes,

Jewes, but by accident and coincidence onely. The Jewes have Prophecies enough of their owne in the Old Testament.

In my book and the papers I once sent you concerning this poynt, all this is easily to be seen.

I. M.

**Mr. Mede his second Letter to Dr. Meddus, containing his grounds why the first and second Resurrection, Revel. 20. is to be taken literally.*

Worthy SIR,

I Sent the fourth sheet I promised, &c. — But to the Quære, which I must answer but briefly, till I have a better and more free occasion to enlarge upon particulars. The full resolving thereof depends upon so large an explication of the Oeconomy of God in the restitution of Mankind, as cannot be comprized in a letter. And I am somewhat unwilling to discover what I think, unlesse I could doe it fully; which made me abstain in my *Specimina* from any explication of the *first Resurrection*, save to name it onely.

But howsoever when I first perceived that *Millennium* to be a State of the Church consequent to the times of the *Beast*, I was averse from the proper acception of that *Resurrection*, taking it for a rising of the Church from a dead estate, as being loth to admit too many paradoxes at once: yet afterward more seriously considering and weighing all

[I i 3]

things,

things, I found no ground or footing for any sense but the literall.

1.

For first, I cannot be perswaded to forsake the proper and usuall importment of Scripture-language, where neither insinuation of the Text it selfe, nor manifest tokens of Allegory, or the necessity and nature of the things spoken of (which will bear no other sense) doe warrant it. For to do so, were to lose all footing of divine testimony, and in stead of Scripture to beleieve mine own imaginations. Now the 20. of the *Apocalyps*, of all the narrations of that Book, seems to be the most plain and simple, most free of Allegory, and of the involution of Propheticall figures; onely here and there, sprinkled with such Metaphors as the use of speech makes æquipollent to vulgar expressions, or the former narrations in that Book had made to be as words personall or proper names are in the plainest histories, as *Old Serpent*, *Beast*, &c. How can a Man then in so plain and simple a narration take a passage of so plain and ordinarily-expressed words (as those about the *first Resurrection* are) in any other sense then the usuall and literall?

2.

Secondly, howsever the word *Resurrection* by it selfe might seem ambiguous, yet in a sentence composed in this manner, *viz. Of the dead, those which were beheaded for the witnesse of Iesus, &c. lived again when the thousand yeers began; but the rest of the dead lived not again till the 1000. yeers were ended;* it would be a most harsh and violent interpretation to say that *dead*, and consequently, *living again from the dead*, should not *anobique* be taken in the same meaning, For such

such a speech in ordinary construction implies, that some of the dead lived again in the beginning of the thousand yeers; & *è contra*. In what manner the rest of the dead should live again at the end of the one thousand yeers, in that manner those who were beheaded for Jesus, lived again in the beginning of the 1000. yeers, which *living again* of those some, is called the *first Resurrection*.

Thirdly, though the ancient Jews (whilest they were yet the Church of God) had no distinct knowledge of such an order in the Resurrection, as *first* and *second*, but only of the Resurrection in grosse and generall, to be *in die judicii magni*; yet they looked for such a Resurrection, wherein those that rose again should reign some time upon earth, according to that, *Apoc. 5. 10. We shall reign on the earth*; as appeareth, *Wisd. 3.* from the first to the eighth verse *inclusivè*; where it is expressly said, *That the souls of the righteous which were departed, should in time of their visitation shine, and that they should judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord should reign for ever.* See the place and consider it. This opinion is here and there also dispersed in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and in the *Talmud*, as of ancient tradition, and is the opinion of the Jews at this day, who as they look not for the kingdom of their *Messiah*, untill *dies judicii magni*, so they expect that their forefathers, (at least such as were just and holy) should rise at the beginning of the same, and reign in the land of *Israel* with their off-spring under *Messiah*. I can hardly beleeve that all this smoke of Tradition could arise but from some fire of Truth

3.

[I i 4]

anciently

anciently made known unto them. Besides, why should the holy Ghost in this point speak so like them, unlesse he would induce us *mutatis mutandis* to mean with them? In fine, the second and universall resurrection, with the state of the Saints after it, now so clearly revealed in Christianity, seems to have been lesse known to the ancient Church of the *Jews* then the first, and the state to accompany it.

4. Lastly, this was the opinion of the whole Orthodox Christian Church, in the age immediately following the death of *S. John*, (when yet *Polycarp* and many of the Apostles Disciples were living) as *Justin Martyr* expressly affirmeth; whose passage to that purpose, when I return again to *Cambridge*, I will send you, illustrated with some notes, and the reading in one place restored from a corruption crept thereinto by fraud or otherwise. A testimony absolute, without all comparison, to perswade such as relye upon Authority and Antiquity. It is to be admired, that an opinion once so generally received in the Church, should ever have been cried downe and buried. But those times which extinguished this, brought other alterations into the Church besides this; *Et quidem sic fieri oportuit.*

I will say something more, observed perhaps by few of those which have knowledge enough of the rest; namely, that this opinion of the *first resurrection*, was the true ground and mother of *prayers for the dead*, so anciently received in the Church, which were then conceived after this manner, *Ut partem haberent in resurrectione prima.* See *Tertullian*, who first
men-

mentions them. The reason was, because this having part in *resurrectione prima*, was not to be common to all, but to be a priviledge of some; namely, of Martyrs and Confessors equipollent to them, if God so would accept them. Moreover, the belief of this Prerogative of Martyrs in *resurrectione prima*, was that which made the Christians of those times so joyously desirous of Martyrdome. These things will perhaps seem strange, but they will be found true, if duly examined.

Thus I have discovered my opinion of the thing which I suppose the Scripture hath revealed shall be: But *de modo* how it shall be, I would willingly abstain from determining. We must be content to be ignorant of the manner of things, which for the matter we are bound to beleeve; too much adventuring here, without a sure guide, may be dangerous, and breed intolerable fancies, as it did among some in those ancient rimes, which occasioned, as may seem, the death and buriall of the main opinion it self, so generally at first beleeved.

Yet thus much I conceive the Text seems to imply, That these *Saints of the first resurrection* should *reigne here on earth in the new Jerusalem*, in a state of beatitude and glory, partaking of divine presence, and vision of Christ their king; as it were in an heaven upon earth, or new paradise, immutable, unchangeable, &c.

Secondly, that for the better understanding of this mysterie, we must distinguish between the state of the *new Jerusalem*, and state of the *nations which shall walk in the light thereof*; they shall not be both
one

one, but much differing. Therefore what is spoken particularly of the *new Ierusalem*, must not be applied to the whole Church which then shall be : *New Ierusalem* is not the whole Church, but the Metropolis thereof, and of the new world. The state of the *nations which shall walk in her light*, though happy and glorious, yet shall be changeable, as appears by the commotion of the nations seduced at the end of the 1000. yeers. But the state of those who dwell in the *new Ierusalem*, shall be *extra omnem mutationis aleam* ; *Blessed are those that have part in the first resurrection, for on them the second death hath no power*, ver. 6.

I differ therefore from *Piscator*, and agree with *Alstedius*, that the Saints of the first resurrection should reigne on earth during the *Millennium*, and not in heaven.

I differ from both, in that I make this state of the Church to belong to *secundus Adventus Christi*, or *dies Iudicii magni*, when Christ shall appeare in the clouds of heaven, and destroy all the professed enemies of his Church and kingdome, and deliver the creature from that bondage of corruption brought upon it for the sin of man : Whereas they make it to precede the day of judgement and second coming. Though this Notion may seem to make but little alteration of the thing beleevd ; yet it is of no small moment to facilitate the understanding of this Scripture, and puts upon the thing it selfe another nature, then is conceived by those who apprehend it otherwise. In a word, they conceive this state to be *ante diem Iudicii* : Others (though wrong-

wrongfully) suppose the ancient *Chiliasts* to have held it to be *post diem judicii*. But the truth is, it is neither before nor after, but *ipsa dies judicii*, *ipsum tempus secunde apparitionis Christi*. And it is to be remembered here, that the *Jews*, who gave this time the name of *dies judicii*, and from whom our Saviour and his Apostles took it, never understood thereby, but a time of many yeers continuance ; yea, some (*mirabile dictu*) of a thousand yeers : and the name of *dies judicii* is more frequent in their Writings then in the new Testament it self. It is mentioned I know not how many times in the Chaldee Paraphrase of that little book of *Ecclesiastes*. The word *day*, is in the Hebrew notion used ordinarily for *tempus*, yea *longissimum* ; as in the Prophets, for the seventy yeers captivity, and for the time of their great and long captivity ; for the time of their pilgrimage in the wilderness, *Psal. 95.* according to the *LXX.* and *S. Pauls* translation *Hebr. 3.* *The day of temptation in the wilderness, when your Fathers tempted me, and proved me, and saw my works forty yeers.* See the thirteenth verse of that chapter, where a day includes every day. So should *day* be taken in the *Lords Prayer*, for the time of this our life ; compare it with *S. Luke*, whose words are, *Give us every day our daily bread.* See the longest day of all dayes, in the last words of *S. Peters* last Epistle, in the Greek and Latine ; for our English obscures it with a generall expression ; it is *ἡμέρα αἰῶνος*, *dies aternitatis*.

There came forth that yeer I conceived my *specimina* of that *Millennium*, a Discourse by a *Lutheran*, with this Title, *Vero-similia historico-Prophetica de rebus*

*bus in novissimo die eventuris, pio studio cujusdam, ἀγα-
 θοῦ καὶ ἐμπράτειαν τῷ Κυρίῳ.* He conceals his
 name; it is a little, but elaborate Discourse. He hath
 the same notion of *dies novissimus*, which I had of
dies judicii. I found with no little admiration, a
 great part of my private speculations of this matter
 in that Tractate. Spying it in the Catalogue, and
 guessing what it meant by the Title, I laid for it at
London: There came over but two, I got them both,
 one for a friend, another for my self. I have used
 means for more Copies, but they cannot, say the
 Merchants, be heard of. Mine is now lent away;
 when I can recover it, I will send it you. Thus I
 take my leave, lest I seal too late. God keep us.

*Dalhousie-Hall,
 Aug. 18.*

Yours

Jos. Mede.

Postscript.

Now I have done, I repent me of so tumultu-
 ary and confused a Discourse of so great
 a mysterie; wherein so much is wanting to
 give it light and evidence. I must desire you
 therefore to keep it to your self, and to par-
 don the fault you have been an occasion of,
 in putting me upon it.

Dr.

Dr. Meddus his Letter to Mr. Mede, touching
Dr. Twisse his Answers to nine Quæres
about *Regnum Sanctorum*
on Earth.

Worthy Sir, and my dear friend,

THis hath been unto me no pleasant time, being much weakened by this moneths bleeding, and a pain in my right arm. I have done with the Lutheran, though doing all with my own hand; I have been longer about it, then Dr. Twisse was, having the help of divers hands. I now send it back with many thanks. You may remember in the beginning of November, I sent you a Letter from Dr. Twisse, when I writ he had besides some * Quæres to have proposed unto you, concerning the thousand yeers regnum sanctorum, but he durst not be so bold, yet left it free unto me to do as I thought good: But then propounding other things, and being leth especially to hinder you in the going forward as with another part of the Revelation, so with the cleering 2 Pet. c. 3. And besides. your inhibition was then a command unto me, to make no more demands till after these late Holy daies. But now, in hope of your favourable bearing with me, I shall adventure to make his Quæres and Answers known unto you: Yet with this caution, that neither they, nor your judgement or censure of the Lutheran booke (which I once desired) may retard your other meditations, nor to give answer thereunto, but at your best leisure and conveniency. Now to the Quæres and Answers.

Qu. 1. As concerning the persons to be raised, which are expressed, Rev. 20. 4. to be onely Martyrs; and
Pis-

* Vid. Dr. Twisse his Preface to the Apostacy of the later times: and his first Letter to M^r. Mede.

Piscator will have it to proceed onely of such; Now this is very strange, considering that undoubtedly some never suffering Martyrdome, have been as great in the favour of God, as any Martyrs; as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the Virgin Mary.

Ans. This may be helped two waies; first, by such an interpretation of Martyrdome, as may be extended much further then to the suffering of death for the testimony of Christ. Secondly, by comparing this, Rev. 20. 4. with oher places, as namely, with Rev. 5. 10. & 11. 18. where the same grace is extended to them that feare Gods Name, to small and great.

Object. But then here followeth a contrary inconvenience, that so it shall be extended unto all.

Ans. Yet it is not said, To all, that feare Gods Name.

Qu. 2. Concerning the communion between the Saints raised from their graves, and the people then living and remaining on the earth, called the nations that are saved; that is, from the fire, whereby the earth and the work thereof shall be burned, 2 Pet. 3. 10. Alstedius will have the Saints raised to be the Doctors of the Church, taking no notice of any distinction of male and female: Yet of both Sexes there have been both Saints and Martyrs, Rev. 21. 24. It is said, that the nations shall walk in the light of new Jerusalem; and if the Saints shall reign over the nations, there must be a communion, such as is between Governours and persons governed. And this government shall be undoubtedly in reference to the worship of God. Now consider,

1. What communion can such bodies as ours have with glorified bodies, considering that when Moses came down

down from the mount, his countenance did so shine, that the Israelites could not indure to look him in the face.

Ans. 1. This glorious lustre may be qualified so far, as to be without offence.

2. The world being restored, why may not the mortall bodies of men be something altered also? Surely God can proportion it. It seems very inconvenient they should be naked; neither can we devise in any congruity, a glorified body should be covered: What rayment were any fit covering for such? Neither is it congruous their glory should be covered, as Moses's face was with a Veile.

2. Whether shall the bodies of the Saints raised, be covered or naked?

Ans. As Angels appeared, their faces shining like lightning, and their rayment white as snow, (which aspect, terrible at the first, by familiar conversation might prove not terrible) so light may be as a garment to the Saints raised.

3. Whether Christ and the Saints raised, shall eat and drink? One Mr. Wood, a Minister in Lincolnshire, maintains they shall (as I have heard from a noble person) and for his opinion alleadgeth that of our Saviour, I will not from henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine, untill that day that I drink it new in the kingdome of God, *Mar. 14. 25.* Adde to this *Luk. 14. 15.* One sitting at table with Christ, said, blessed is he that eateth bread in the kingdome of God. This he meant (as did all the Jews) of the kingdome of the Messias on earth; which opinion is no where conceited; and otherwise what use will they have of the restauration of the world. Yet this is very hard to concoct, 1. That Christ and his Saints all glorified should come from heaven

Ans. But not prevail over new Jerusalem ; but be forthwith consumed with fire ; and then Christs kingdom continuing still, shall be translated from earth to heaven.

Qu.5. Christs coming is not till the restoring of all things, Acts 3.21. But the restoring of all things followeth after the consummation of Gog and Magog, Rev.20.11. and Rev.21.1. Therefore Christs coming shall not be till after Gog and Magog's ruine ; therefore not 1000.years before.

Ans. It is said, that before his face that sate upon the throne, heaven and earth fled away, &c. But it is not said, that then it began to fly away, to wit, after the destruction of Gog and Magog.

Qu.6. 'Tis very strange that Gog and Magog should adventure to besiege new Jerusalem ; the devil and his angels might as well adventure to besiege heaven.

Ans. True, if Gog and Magog knew the condition of new Jerusalem so well, as the devil and his angels know the condition of heaven.

Qu.7. Shall all that oppose Christs truth be consumed with fire at that day ? Consider Paul opposed the Gospel for a while, yet was a chosen vessell of God ; and many that do not oppose, may yet be reprobates.

Ans. Yet at that day all they to whom the Lord coming in flaming fire, shall render vengeance for not obeying the Gospel of Christ Jesus, 2 Thess.1.8. shall be none of Gods Elect.

Qu.8. What shall become of infants, found alive at that day, not onely of Gods children, but of others also ?

Ans.1. If consumed in the same fire with their ungodly parents, this will be no more strange, then that which fell out in the conflagration of Sodom and Gomorrah.

[K k]

Ans.2.

Ans. 2. Yet they may be of the number of those that escape, if so it please God, and herewnto, to wit, that it should so please God, I should rather incline.

Qu. 9. From heaven we look for a Saviour, that shall transform our vile bodies, and make them like unto his glorious body, Phil. 3. ult. Therefore at Christs coming, all the Saints that remain alive, shall be so transformed.

Ans. So they shall, before that day of judgement ends, for it continueth 1000. yeers.

Qu. 10. They that then are found alive, shall be caught up in the aire, and ever be with the Lord; I mean the godly; but if there shall be 1000. yeers reigne on earth, what need they be caught up in the ayre? and how ever be with the Lord from thenceforth, if they and their posterity after them continue for the space of 1000. yeers, subject to mortality?

These were his ten Quæres, and Answers unto nine of them; with which contemplations (he writ) his heart serv'd him not to acquaint you, or to intreat your judgement in the way of correction or confirmation and addition, but left it unto me. The Father of lights illuminate our hearts with all saving light, to his glory, the good of his people, and our own comforts in Christ Jesus. So I rest,

Tours ever,

6 Jan. 1629.

Sam: Meddus.

Mr. Mede's Answer to the tenth Quære, about the 1000. yeers Regnum Sanctorum here on earth.

S I R,

BY reason of this late indisposition, I was not fit for any matter of study till yesterday: Howsoever,

ever, I considered then Dr. T. his Answers to the Objections, and applaud them, finding through them all a right and dexterous apprehension of the thing questioned, which many are very uncapable to conceive; but because he leaves the last unanswered, I suppose it was tacitely reserved to me for Tithe, himself having answered nine. I will therefore, as well as I can, propound what I had before conceived might be answered to such an objection; wherein you shall also perceive in part wherein I differ from the *Lutheran*.

First therefore, it is not needfull, that the *resurrection* of those which *slept in Christ*, and the *rapture* of those which shall be left alive, together with them *into the aire*, should be at one and the same time: For the words in *1 Thess. 4. v. 16, 17.* *αὐτοὶ* and *ἐμεῖς*, *first*, and *then*, or *afterwards*, may admit a great distance of time, as *1 Cor. 1. 15, 23.* *Every one* (or, all mankind) *shall rise in their order*, *Christ the first fruits* (that is, *first*) *ἐμεῖς* afterwards they that are *Christs*, at his coming. Here *ἐμεῖς*, afterwards, notes a distance of time of above a thousand and a half of yeers, as we finde by experience. Suppose therefore this *rapture* of the Saints into the aire, be to translate them to heaven, yet it might be construed thus, *The dead in Christ* (that is, *for Christ*, namely, the Martyrs) *shall rise first*, afterwards *ἐμεῖς* (*viz.* a thousand yeers after) *we which are alive and remain*, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, and meet the Lord in the aire, and so (from thenceforth) *we shall ever be with the Lord*. Thus *Tertullian* seems to understand it, who interprets

[K k 2]

vexpoi

νερποι ἐν Χριστῷ, or as it is in *ucr.* 14. *νημνύτες διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, of Martyrs; namely, such as die *propter Christum, for Christ, by means of Christ, through Christ, for Christs sake*, taking ἐν as noting the cause or means of their death; so *Piscator* expounds the like speech, *Apoc.* 14. 13. *Blessed are the dead, which die ἐν Κυρίῳ, id est, propter Dominum, for the Lord; Beza, qui Domini causâ moriuntur; which die for the Lords sake.*

2. If thus; to restrain νερποι ἐν Χριστῷ, or *νημνύτες διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, seem not so fully to answer the Apostles scope and intention, which seems to be a generall consolation to all that die in the faith, *viz.* a fruition of Christ; then may we give it the largest sense, and yet say, that it is not needfull that the Resurrection of those which died in Christ, should be *all at once, or altogether*; But the Martyrs *first*, in the *first resurrection*; Then (after an appointed time) the rest of the dead in the *last resurrection*; Afterward, when the resurrection shall be thus compleat, those which remain alive at Christs coming, shall together with those which are risen, be *caught up into the clouds, to meet the Lord in the aire*, and from thenceforth be eternally with him. And so the reason why those which Christ found alive at his coming, were not instantly translated, should be in part, that they might not prevent the dead, but be consummate with them.

3. Both these interpretations suppose the *rapture* of the Saints into the clouds, to be for their present translation into heaven. But suppose that be not the meaning of it; for the words, if we weigh them well, seem to imply it to be for another end; namely,

ly, to do honour unto their Lord and King at his return, and to attend upon him when he comes to judge the world; *Those* (saith the Text) *which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him*: He saith not, carry away with him. Again, they, and *those which are alive, shall be caught up together in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the aire*, to meet the Lords coming hither to judgement, not to follow him returning hence, the judgement being finished. Besides, it is to be noted, that although in the Hebrew notion, the *aire* be comprehended under the name of *heaven*, yet would not the Apostle here use the word *heaven*, but the word [*aire*] as it were to avoid the ambiguity, lest we might interpret it of our translation into heaven.

If this be the meaning, then are those words [*we shall ever be with the Lord*] thus to be interpreted; after this our *gathering together* unto Christ at his coming (so the Apostle calls this *rapture*, 2 *Thess.* 3.1.) we shall from henceforth never lose his presence, but alwaies enjoy it, partly on earth, during his reign of 1000.years, and partly in heaven, when we shall be translated thither. For it cannot be concluded, because the Text saith, the Saints after their *rapture* on high, should thenceforth be ever with the Lord, Therefore they shall from thenceforth be in heaven; for no heaven is here mentioned. - If they must needs be with *Christ* there, where they are to meet him; it would rather follow, they should be ever with him in the *aire*, then in *heaven*; which I suppose none will admit. And otherwise the Text will afford no more for *heaven*, then it will for *earth*; nay, the words [*he shall bring them with him*] make most for the latter.

[K k 3]

4. 1

4. I will add this more, namely, what may be conceived to be the cause of this *rapture* of the Saints on high to meet the Lord in the clouds, rather then to wait his coming to the earth. What if it be, that they may be preserved during the *conflagration* of the earth and the works thereof, 2 *Pet.* 3. 10. That as *Noah* and his family were preserved from the deluge, by being lift up above the waters in the *Ark*, so should the Saints at the conflagration be lift up in the clouds unto their *Ark, Christ*, to be preserved there from the deluge of fire, wherein the wicked shall be consumed? There is a Tradition of the *Jews* sounding this way, which they ascribe unto one *Elias* a *Jewish* Doctor, whose is that * Tradition of the duration of the world, and well known among Divines, *Duo millia Inane, duo millia Lex, duo millia dies Messia*, viz. *Sex mille annos duraturus est Mundus*.

* In Gemara
râ Abodah
Zarab, c. 1.

He lived under the second Temple about the first times of the *Greek* Monarchy; so that it is no devise of any latter *Rabbies*, but a Tradition anciently received amongst them whilst they were yet the Church of God. I will transcribe it, because it hath something remarkable concerning the 1000. yeers; it sounds thus: *Traditio domus Elie. Justi quos resuscitabit Deus, non redigentur iterum in pulverem*. (He means of the first and particular resurrection before the generall, which the *Jews* acknowledge and talk much of. See *Wisdom*, chap. 3. *ab initio ad finem*, v. 8.) *Si queras, Mille annis istis, quibus Deus Sanctus Benedictus renovaturus est mundum suum (de quibus dicitur Et exaltabitur Dominus solus in die illo, Es. 2. 11.) quid justis futurum sit; sciendum quod Deus benedictus dabit*

*dabit illis alas quasi aquilarum, ut volent super facie aquarum, unde dicitur (Pl. 46. 3.) Propterea non timebimus cum * mutabitur terra. At forte (inquies) erit ipsis dolori seu afflictioni. Sed occurrit illud (Esa. 40. 31.) Expectantibus Dominum innovabunt vires, effuerunt alae instar aquilarum. The Hebrew words are in Gemara Sanhedrin; תני רבית אליהו צדיקים הקדוש ברוך הוא להחיות אין הוורין לטפרם ואם תאמר אותן אלף שנים שעתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא לחדש בהן את עלמם שנאמר The Tradition of the house of Eliah, The just whom God shall raise (viz. in the first resurrection) shall not return to dust. But if you ask what shall happen to the just in those thousand yeers, wherein the holy and blessed God shall renew his world (whereof it is said, Esay 2. 11. And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day) you must know, that God shall give them the wings as it were of Eagles, to fly upon the face of the waters; for it is said (Psal. 46. 3.) Therefore shall we not fear, when the earth shall be changed. But you will say, Perhaps it will be to them a pain and trouble; but we are otherwise taught by that in Esay 40. 31. They that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as Eagles, &c.*

Mr. Doctor may add this to my placita *Judeorum*. Thus, with my best respects to your self and him, I rest,

Yours, &c.

J. M.

Postscript.

Adde unto this that of our Saviour,
Where the body is, there shall the Eagles be gathered together.

[K k 4]

Mr.

* Psa. 46. 3.
בְּהִמּוֹת
mutabitur,
though we
there tran-
sface it, be
moved, mo-
vebitur.

*Mr. Mede's Letter to a Friend, answering severall
Objections, touching his opinion of the
Millennium.*

C. Confocie,

QUæso te, ut Amico tuo hisce verbis rescribas :
Me, quamvis, Epistolâ ejus perlectâ, sententi-
am meam deponere non posse, multas tamen &
graves causas habere, cur nolim de ea cum quoquam
scripto agere: in privato colloquio non recusaturum;
sit modò Vir eruditus & candidi moderatîq; ingenii,
quocum mihi congregiendum sit. In rebus enim du-
biæ & ambiguae interpretationis, me in universum à
collationibus, quæ scripto fiant, abhorrere, propter
multa, eaq; gravia incommoda; quanto magis in re
novâ & paradoxâ: ubi necesse fuerit, plurima, ad sen-
tentiæ meæ quâ explicationem, quâ defensionem,
proferri, quæ chartæ committere nollem.

In commentationibus meis *Apocalypicis* nihil de
statu Regni Millenarii particulatim, vel (ut ita lo-
quar) modatim, sive quod Mundum ipsum, sive San-
ctos tum resurrecturos attinet, differuisse; hæc omnia
in medio reliquisse, generali explicatione contentum
fuisse, idque consultò & de industria. Prius enim me
virorum doctorum judicia auditorum, firmiter ne de-
monstratum putent, Regnum illud (qualecunq; tan-
dem sit) adhuc expectandum esse, & quidem in se-
cundo Christi adventu, & post excidium Antichristi;
quàm de modo & qualitate Regni, & resurgentium
conditione conjecturas meas expromâ. Frustrâ enim
de modo rei inquirere, aut edoceri eum, cui nondum
rem ipsam, cui cuimodo sit, unquam fore persuasum
est.

est. Hanc habeat detrectatæ Collationis causam, quippe neque fructuosæ, neque periculo suo carituræ.

Ne tamen postulatis ejus me difficilem nimis, & inexorabilem præbere videar, si eum nullo prorsus responso, pro meliori sententiæ meæ intellectuione, impertirem; hæc eum scire velle.

1. Nunquam mihi in mentem venisse, ut sententiam meam de Resurrectione prima, aut loco isti *cap. 11. v. 18.* aut *cap. 14. v. 13.* superstruerem, aut inde probari posse existimarem. Fundamentum sententiæ meæ de duabus Resurrectionibus in unico & solo *capite 20^{mo}* repositum habere: cui duo illa loca *cap. 11. & 14.* interpretando conformia reddidisse, aut quomodo saltem conformari possint, uno & altero verbo indicasse; neque quid amplius ibi propositum mihi habuisse.

2. Insuper in eodem illo *capite 20^{mo}* fundamentum opinionis meæ, de *Regno apparitionis Christi Millennario*, quod quidem Millennii durationem attinet, solo & unico collocare: quod verò rem ipsam attinet, (Regnum nempe Sanctorum in terris post excidium Antichristi, & Christi adventum in nubibus, futurum) id ex reliquis Scripturis istis, quas cum Millennii vaticinio comparaverim, satis evidenter, & firmiter demonstratum esse, existimare: neque justè eum exigere, ut ex omnibus istis locis, ipsius Millennii durationem evincerem: Hoc enim perinde esse, ac si ab eo qui *hominem peccati* apud *Paulum*, eundem cum *Bestia Apocalyptica* affirmaret, exigeret aliquis, ut ex loco *Pauli* ostenderet, eum mensibus 42. duraturum; alioquin fidem non facturum.

3. Porro

3. Porro aliorum, & præter mentē meam acceptum esse, quod p. 245. de interpretatione verborum *Pauli, Mortui in Christo resurgent primi*, ex *Tertulliano* notaverim; quasi nempe illud pro mea ipsius sententia laudāsem, quod duntaxat similis similium verborum interpretationis meæ illustrandæ causā fecerim: Interim causas habuisse, cur ibi iudicium meum interponere noluerim.

Sic Iren.
l. 5 c. 32.
lin. 5.

4. Quod autem ad rem ipsam attinet, me in eam sententiam maximè propendere (idque præcipuè *Pauli* auctoritate, 1 *Thess.* cap. 4. motum) omnes justos intra Millennium Regni resurrecturos; sed ordine quodam, & ut Apostolus loquitur, 1 *Cor.* 15. 23. *ἕαρον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι*, primos quidem, idque in ipso Millennium initio, Martyres, deinde & reliquos justos qui Bestiæ morem non gesserint, alios citius, alios tardius, prout Deo βραβεύτῃ visum; hancque dici resurrectionem primam, & *Luc.* 14. 14. *Resurrectionem justorum*. Postea verò, decursu Millennium, etiam impios resurrecturos, unaque extremum & universale Iudicium peractum iri; impiis in lacum ignis & sulphuris unà cum Diabolo detrudendis; Sanctis verò in cœlestes mansiones subvectis, cum Christo æternū victuris. Utut sit, ex veteribus fuisse, qui haud dissimiliter de ordine Resurrectionis sentirent, ex locis aliquot *Tertulliani* colligo; ut ex

Lib. 3. adversus *Marcionem*, cap. 24. *Post cuius (scil. Regni) Mille annos, intra quam ætatem concluditur Sanctorum Resurrectio, pro meritis maturius vel tardius resurgentium, &c.*

Item de *Anima*, cap. 35. — *Et Index te tradat Angelo executionis, & ille te in carcerem mandet Infernum,*

num, unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto morâ * Resurrectionis expenso.

* Huc respicere videtur & illud

Cypriani Epist. 52. Aliud esse pendere in Die Judicii ad Sententiam Domini, aliud statim à Domino coronari. Agit verò, nisi admodum fallor, de prerogativa Martyrum, &c.

Et illud Irenæi lib. 1. c. 2. Christum in suo de cælis adventu, τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀντιλάς αὐτοῦ, τετηνεκῶσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀπαρχῇ, τοῖς δὲ ἐν μεταβίαις, ζωνῶν χειροῦ μένον, ἀφ' αὐτοῦ, σωθήσονται. Μετὰ τοιαῦτα n. hic pro pæna posita videtur, non virtute: Quam pænam in mora Resurrectionis constituit, Tertull.

Et cap. 58. In summa, cum carcerem illum, quod Evangelium demonstrat, Inferos intelligimus, & novissimum quadrantem modicum quodque delictum mora Resurrectionis illic tuendum interpretemur, nemo dubitavit, animam aliquid pensare penes inferos, salva Resurrectionis plenitudine per carnem quoque.

Frustrâ igitur sunt Pontificii, qui hîc se Purgatorum suum reperisse gloriantur.

5. Nusquam dicere Apostolum, Resurrectionem Mortuorum (ut vir doctus objicit) sed Mutationem Vivorum in ictu oculi, & momento peragendam esse.

6. Ἀντιστοιχίαν illam mortis secunde, & Resurrectionis primæ (quam tantopere urget) fallacem esse, neque ullo firmo fundamento subnixam; præsertim cum nomenclatura illa mortis secunde, non à Spiritu S. aut Ioanne primum usurpata, sed ex Magistrorum Judaicorum usu desumpta sit, (ut in Targum videre est,) sic nimirum ab illis nuncupatæ, quod eâ Impii qui à mortuis resurrexerint, quasi secundo morituri sint. Accedit & illud quod Mors secunda, corporum non minùs, quàm animarum sit: ideoque, etiam hypothesi illâ concessâ, non satis tamen commodè probari inde posse Resurrectionem primam non esse corporalem. Sed quorsum de Ἀντιστοιχίᾳ, eâque dubia

Deut. 33. 6
Psalm. 49. 12
Esaï 65. 6.
& 15.

dubia & incerta sagagitur, cum *Συνοχη*, eaque que manifesta, ad manum sit? Annon enim Resurrectio prima, & Resurrectio secunda *σύνοχη* sunt? Cur igitur hinc, non majori verisimilitudine, argumentari mihi liceret, Quum Resurrectio secunda corporalis sit, ideò similiter primam quoque corporalem esse? Adde vim locutionis adversativa: *Anima*, inquit, eorum qui securi percussi sunt, propter testimonium Iesu, & verbum Dei, &c. revixerunt, & regnârunt cum Christo mille istis annis: reliqui verò mortuorum non revixerunt, donec consummarentur mille anni. Quis hinc non statim colligit, revictionem, seu Resurrectionem utramque istiusmodi esse? Annon id postulare videtur locutionis istiusmodi adversativæ usus?

7. Quod porrò de *Animarum* vocabulo ingerit, tanquam magis (si litera urgeatur) pro sententia Græcorum, de *Animarum* Martyrum prærogativâ, ante diem Judicii, quàm pro mea opinatione faceret; id infirmum mihi videre: cum notius sit, quàm ut probatione egeat, *Animas* in sacris literis, non tantùm *Personas* denotare, sed & * *Cadavera*: quod quàm aptè huic *Apocalypseos* loco conveniat, ipsum latere non posse.

8. Ad hæc sciat, (ut de justis resurrecturis deinceps securo sit animo) eos qui Millennii dogma ritè & ἀρχαῖως, nec perperam tuentur, sic statuere: Sanctos, qui prima Resurrectione resurrexerint, vitam beatam, cœlestem, Angelicam, & omnino qualis filios resurrectionis deceat, per mille annos in terris acturos; neque

ab

* Ut Ps. 16

10.

Að. 2. 31.

Ezek. 44.

25. apud

Lxx.

Levit. 10.

28. & alibi.

Adde

Apoc. 6. 9.

Addit qui-

dam Ecclef.

16. ult.

ab hostibus illis, quos iterum solvendus Diabolus concitabit, quicquam detrimenti passuros; quippe qui in ipso conatu *θεομαχίας* & obsidendi civitatem dilectam, de coelo statim perdendi sint. Reliquorum verò orbis incolarum, *qui in lumine Sanctæ Civitatis ambulabunt, diversam fore conditionem.*

9. Præterea *Ἀποκατάστασιν* istam πάντων, *Act. 3. 21.* seu Restitutionem * Mundi à servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei, *Rom. 8. 21.* inituram cum Resurrectione prima. Sed quò ab eo? Consilii mei memor, Scripturariâ istac cymbulâ altius non penetrabo in hoc mare.

10. Unum tamen & alterum adhuc restat, de quo monendus est vir doctus: Me non duos (ut putat) sed unicum tantum Christi adventum expectandum credere; cum nimirum, quo vivos & mortuos iudicaturus sit *ὃν τῇ ὁφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ*; sed, tūm adventum istum, tum iudicium, in mille annos extractum iri.

11. Porro, aliud esse regnum, quo Christus in Sanctis suis regnat; aliud quo Sancti regnabunt cum Christo. Verum quidem esse, Christum Dominum nostrum jam inde à primo suo adventu regnum inchoasse, illudq; regnum Ecclesiam esse. † Interim & illud haud minùs certum esse, Regnum aliquod in Scripturis promitti adventûs secundi proprium, quod & Regnum κατ' ἐξοχὴν dicitur, adhucq; implendum superest, ut *Dan. 7. 14. Luc. 19. 11. 15. & 21. 31. 2 Thess. 1. 5. 2 Tim. 4. 1.* ubi ἡ ὁφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ non est, ut vult vir doctus, ὁφθαλμῶν τῆ βασιλείας sed ὁφθαλμῶν τῷ Χριστῷ; neq; unquam aliter ea vox in tota Scriptura, quàm ad Christi adventum significandum adhibetur. Jam & illud ab Apostolo, *1 Cor. 15.* testatum habemus:

* *Auth. Qu. & Resp. ad Orth. qu. 30*
Ἀναστασις
indigitat τὴ
κατεστῶτ
τῶ κόσμῳ
ἀνακτιστέ
ως.

† *Huc pertinet illud*
Auth. Qu. & Resp. ad Orth. qu. 120.
Βασίλειαν θεοῦ
οὐδὲν ἢ
δείξω γὰρ
φῶν ὀνομά
ζειν, ἐπὶ τῷ
ἀνάστασιν
ἀπλῶς,
ἀλλὰ τῷ
μετὰ τῷ
ἀνάστασιν
ἀποκατά
στασιν, ὡς ἡ
γίνεται
κολλάζομε
νωντὴ καὶ
δοξάζομε
νων ἡ δι
αίρεσις.

mus : post Judicium & Resurrectionem plenè peractam, *Christum regnum suum traditurum Patri, ut ipse sit omnia in omnibus.* Ex his duobus quid sequatur, viris piis & veritatis divinæ studio seriò flagrantibus, perpendendum relinquo.

12. Deniq; pro colophone & illud sciat : Me verba illa *Petri Unus dies apud Deū sicut mille anni*, pro tarditatis à Deo admovendæ argumento nullatenus habere; sed pro declaratione nomēclaturæ diei Judicii, quæ proximè præcessit. Ne centum quidem annorū millia apud Deum plus esse quàm unus Dies. Atqui de mora æstimatione nostri causantur Irrisores, non Dei. Quæ igitur hæc calumnia depulsio esset? De tarditate verò primùm sequenti versu agere incipit Apostolus, ejusque culpam sic à Deo depellere : Moram scilicet adventus Domini, non esse tarditati ejus in implendis promissis, sed longanimitati deputandam.

Ex his vir doctus haud difficulter colligat solutiones meas ad plerasque objectiones suas. *f. M.*

Mr. Estwick his Letter to Mr. Mede, touching the Millennium.

S I R,

Touching the opinion of the Millenaries, it was not yet my hap to light of a book to inform me, you shall finde me to be a teachable Scholar; onely this Mora Resurrectionis, seems to be confuted in divers places of the Scripture; where it is said, the dead shall be raised at the sound of the last Trump; all they that are Christs at his coming, 1 Cor. 15. 23. in a moment, verse 52. and the coming of the Son of Man, See Mat. 24. 39. and excepting one place, I think the Resurrection

tion is said to be of good and bad together: How these and the like Scriptures are to be expounded agreeable to the doctrine of the Millenaries, I would willingly know.

Warton,
Nov. 4.

Yours ever,
N. Estwick.

Mr. Mede's Letter to Mr. N. Estwick about the
Millennium.

Mr. Estwick,

YOU would bring me to expresse my selfe *de modo*, before you were perswaded *de re*. But soft you there, I like not that Method.

S. Jerom is a man of no faith with me, when he describes the opinion of his Adversary: which whatsoever it were, he would set it forth as odiously as possible could be. He was a man that cared not what he said, so it might disparage his adversary: This appeares sufficiently in the cases of *Vigilantius & Iovinian*. Yea but he lived at the same time? *Ans.* So do we with those we differ from, and yet we see the experience dayly, that scarce any one will relate the opinion of his adversary candidly.

Yea, but I cannot deny that *Lactantius* was for *ciborum abundantia, gulaque ac ventris ingluviis, & ea qua sub ventre sunt*. But what if I can? The words of *Lactantius* are onely these, *lib. 7. cap. 24. Tunc, inquit, qui erunt in corporibus vivi*, (he speaks of those who shall be living at Christs second coming) *non morientur, sed per eosdem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt, & erit soboles eorum sancta, & Deo chara. Qui autem ab inferis suscitabuntur*, (that is, those

those who shall rise from the dead, *resurrectione prima*) *ii praeerunt viventibus velut iudices*. You see he puts a difference between those who shall be then living, and those who shall rise from the dead. The last shall live *vitam caelestem & Angelicam*, even on earth, without marrying or giving in marriage, but not the first. He sayes indeed the one shall *generare*, but of the other only, that *praeerunt viventibus tanquam iudices*: and presently in the words following describes that *Regnum* to be the *Mille anni caelestis Imperii in quo iustitia in orbe regnabit*. But of gormandizing, *ingluvies & gula*, I find no word, unlesse you think it must needs follow upon the taking away the curse of the creature, and the restitution thereof to the perfection it lost through mans sin. For *Lactantius* means no more, but that such as then lived, should live the life that *Adam* should have done in Paradise, had he not sinned. But those that should then rise from the dead, should live in a far more heavenly and angelicall condition, even the life of the blessed spirits in heaven. But *S. Jerom* is wont to relate the opinion; as if those who rose again should *generare*, and give themselves to feasting and gormandizing.

Besides, you say *S. Austin* intimates that some held some such carnall Beatitude: I answer; so he intimates that some did not, and that himselfe was once of that opinion, and that to hold so was tolerable: *Qua opinio esset utcumque tolerabilis, si aliquae deliciae spirituales in illo Sabbato affutura sanctis per Domini (i. Christi) praesentiam crederentur. Nam nos etiam hoc opinati fuimus aliquando. de Civit. Dei, lib. 20. c. 7.*

But where can I shew *Cyprian* to be a *Chilias*?

You

You see it is tedious to answer a question in writing, which may be asked in a few words. Yet I will say something: I say therefore he shewes himself plainly a *Chilias*t (to such as know the mystery of that opinion) *Lib. de exhortatione Martyrii*. In the preface whereof he speaks thus; *Desiderasti, Fortunate charissime, ut quoniam persecutionum & pressurarum pondus incumbit, & in fine atque consummatione mundi Antichristi tempus infestum appropinquare nunc cæpit, ad præparandas & corroborandas fratrum mentes de divinis Scripturis hortamenta componerem, quibus milites Christi ad cæleste & spiritale certamen animarem.*— paulo post—*sex millia annorum jam penè complentur, --- Si imparatum invenerit diabolus militem Christi, &c.*

But he that, as you see, expected the coming of Antichrist, should be at the end of the sixth thousand year, which he supposed then neer at hand, yet thought the World should last 7000. viz. a thousand yeare after the destruction of Antichrist, *ut patet ex iis quæ differit, cap. 11. in these words; Quid verò in Maccabæis septem fratres & natalium pariter & virtutum sorte consimiles, septenarium numerum perfecta consummationis implentes? Sic septem fratres in Martyrio cohærentes, ut primi in dispositione divina septem dies, annorum septem millia continentes*— *ut consummatio legitima compleatur, &c.* This to him that knowes *Chiliasme* is plain *Chiliasme*. Look and compare your *Austin, cap. 7. lib. 20. de Civit. Dei*, from those words, *Qui propter hæc hujus libri verba primam Resurrectionem, &c.* Compare also what *Cyprian* hath in the end of that book out of the Gospel, *Mark 10. 29, 30. and Apocalypse the 20. and you*

[L1]

will

will acknowledge him to be (as he was wont to profess himself) *Tertulliani Discipulum*.

But I must not follow you too farre in this kind of answering: 'Tis tedious. I send you some more papers, and so with my love, I rest,

Christ's Colledge,
Novemb. 16.

Yours, Jos. Mede.

Answer concerning a discourse inferring from the Septenary types of the Old Testament, and other arguments, that the world should last 7000. yeers, and the seventh thousand be that happy and blessed Chiliad.

I.

THE Millennium of the Reign of Christ, is that which the Scriptures call the *Day of Judgement*, the ancient Jews & S. Jude, יוֹם דִּינָא מַגְנָא. *Magnus dies Iudicii*, or *dies Iudicii magni*. *Septimus Millenarius ab universa Cabbalistarum Schola* (saith *Carpentarius*) *vocatur magnus dies Iudicii*. *Com. in Alcinoon Platonis*, pag. 322. A Day, not as our languages commonly import, of a few houres, but according to the Hebrew notion (from whence the Name is derived) of many yeers, for with them, Day is Time, and not a short only, but a long time. A Day whereof S. Peter speaking, 2 *Epist. c. 3.* tells the beleieving Jewes his brethren, as loon as he had named it, verse 8. That he would not have them ignorant, that one Day with the Lord was as a thousand yeers, and a thousand yeers as one Day. This is the day of the great Assises beginning with the seventh Trumpet, *Apoc. 11. 15.* wherein Christ shall give reward unto his servants the Prophets,

Prophets, and to the Saints of them that fear his name, and shall destroy them that destroy the earth. verse 18. The Proceſſe of this wonderfull day, S. *Iohn* deſcribes by a twofold Judgement, and a twofold Reſurrection, and the glorious Reign of the Saints between them. The morning judgement ſhall be of Antichriſt, and all his partakers, whom Chriſt ſhall deſtroy at the appearing of his coming, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 8. and then ſhall be the firſt and particular Reſurrection. The evening judgement ſhall be upon the remainder of the living enemies of Chriſt, *Gog*, and *Magog*, and conclude with the laſt and univerſall Reſurrection of the Dead: and ſo the laſt enemy death, being now wholly vanquiſhed, he ſhall ſurrender his kingdome into the hands of his Father, that God may be all in all. 1 *Cor.* 15. 24. &c.

Nor ought it to ſeem ſtrange, that the name Day ſhould ſignifie ſo long a time as a thouſand yeeres: The Jewes, who firſt impoſed it, underſtood it ſo. And in the end of S. *Peter* we ſhall finde yet a longer day, even *ἡμέρα αἰώνος*, dies *Eternitatis*, a day of Eternity, 2 *Pet.* 3. 18. The Prophets have many ſuch long dayes, when they ſay, *In die illo*, viz. The whole time of Chriſts firſt coming is called a Day, *Ioh.* 16. 26. 2 *Cor.* 6. 2. The whole time of the Jewes forty yeeres abode in the wilderneſſe is called a Day, *Heb.* 3. 8, 9. Their firſt captivity of ſeventy yeeres, a Day, vide *Prophetas*; Their laſt and long captivity, a Day, as *Deut.* 32. 35. & alibi apud *Prophetas*. And what if in our daily prayer, Give us this day our daily bread; Day be to be taken for the whole time of our life? For in ſtead of S. *Matthewes*, This day, ſpeaking after

[L 1 2]

the

the Hebrew notion, S. Luke hath in the same Petition, *καθ' ἡμέραν*, that is, every day: So S. Paul, Heb. 3. 13. *Exhort one another, καθ' ἡμέραν ἡμέραν* every day, whilest it is called today. Doth not day here include many days?

Now if the thousand yeers reign of Christ be the day of Judgement, then it will follow, that though we may know by the fulfilling of things to be fulfilled, whether it be neerer or further off, yet the precise time of the coming thereof cannot be known, because it is to come upon the world unawares, as a Thief in the night.

II.

Nevertheless it is true that the Primitive Fathers (especially those who beleaved the *Chiliad*) conceived the world should last, and the Church therein labour 6000. yeers, and that the seventh thousand, should be the day of judgement, and Sabbath, in which the Saints should reign with Christ their Lord.

So Irenaeus lib. 5. c. 28. *Quotquot diebus hic factus est mundus, tot & millenis consummatur. — Si enim dies Domini quasi mille anni, in sex autem diebus consummata sunt, quae facta sunt, manifestum est quoniam consummatio ipsorum sextus millesimus annus est.*

Idem eodem libro cap. 30. *Cum vastaverit Antichristus hic omnia in mundo, regnans annis tribus & mensibus sex — tunc veniet Dominus de caelis in nubibus in gloria Patris, illum quidem & obedientes ei in stagnum ignis mittens, adducens autem iustis Regni tempora, hoc est requietionē (i. Sabbathum) septimam diem sanctificatam,*
 & re-

& restituens Abrahæ promissionem hereditatis, &c.

Justinus Martyr *Dialogo cum Tryphone Judæo loquens de Millennio Regni Christi*; novimus (inquit) dictum illud * quod dies Domini sit sicut mille anni, huc pertinere.

Cyprianus *lib. de exhortatione Martyrii*; Primi in in dispositione divina septem dies, annorum septem millia continent, — ut consummatio legitima impleatur.

Lactantius *de divino premio, lib. 7. c. 14.* Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per sæcula sex, id est, annorum sex millia manere in hoc statu mundum necesse est. Dies enim magnus Dei mille annorum circulo terminatur: — Et ut Deus sex illos dies in tantis rebus fabricandis laboravit, ita & religio ejus & veritas in his sex millibus annorum laborare necesse est, malitia prævalente & dominante. Et rursus quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die septimo, eumque benedixit, necesse est ut in fine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur à terra, & regnet annos mille justitia, sitque tranquillitas & requies à laboribus quos mundus jamdiu perpeffus est.

* Intelligit dictum Petri cap. 3. &c.

III.

The antient Jewes also had a Tradition to the same purpose, as appears by these testimonies recorded in the *Gemara*, or *Glosse* of their *Talmud*. *Cod. Sanhedrim, cap. Kol Israel*. For there, concerning that of *Esay, cap. 2.* *Exaltabitur Dominus solus die illo*; thus speaks the *Talmudicall Glosse*.

Dixit Rabbi Ketina: Sex annorum millibus stat mundus & uno (Millenario) vastabitur; de quo dicitur, Atque exaltabitur Dominus solus die illo. Note

[L 3]

by

by *Vastabitur*, they mean the Vastation of the world by fire in the Day of Judgement, whereby it shall become New, or a New Heaven, and new earth.

Sequitur;

Traditio ad stipulatur R. Ketinæ, (nempe ista) Sicut ex septenis annis septimus quisque Annus Remissionis est, ita septem millibus annorum mundi, septimus Millenarius Millenarius Remissionis erit, ut Dominus solus exaltet in die illo. Dicitur enim (Psal. 92.) Psalmus & Canticum de die Sabbati; id est, de eo die qui totus quies est. (Note, they understand this Psalm of the great day of Judgement, and the Sabbath mentioned in the Title, of the great Sabbath of a thousand yeers.) Dicitur item (Psal 90.) Nam mille anni in oculis tuis velut dies hesternus.

Sequitur;

*Traditio domûs Eliæ; Sex mille annos durat mundus: Bis mille annis * Inanitas, Bis mille annis, Lex: denique bis mille annis, dies Christi. At verò propter peccata nostra & plurima, & enormia, abierunt ex his qui abierunt. These last words, Petrus Galatinus, proves to be added to this Tradition by the later Jewes. And surely this Elias lived under the second Temple, and before the birth of Christ. And though there be no mention here of the seven thousand yeers, yet that this R. Elias acknowledged it as well as the rest, appears by a former place of the same Gemara Talmudica, as it is above quoted in my answer to the tenth *Quere, prope finem.**

IV.

The concinnity of this conceit hath made me (I confess) sometimes inquisitive, whether it could be brought

* *Seu Vanitas*, וְהָיָה כְּעָפָר

brought to accord with the received computation of the Age of the World, and with our experience of the beginning and continuance of the times of Antichrist now revealed. But the obstacle I found was, that I could never perswade my selfe, the times of Antichrist began so late, as this conceit and our computation of the worlds yeers imply they should; namely not till neer about the time of *Carolus magnus*. Nor can I admit, that the 42. moneths, which the Beast is said to continue, should be reckoned from his ἀρχή, or *etas adulta*, and not from his beginning, as must be here likewise supposed. For as when we reckon the age of a man, we reckon not from the time he came to mans estate, or from the time he sued out his livery, but from the time of his birth; so should we do here, for the times of the *man of sin*.

Besides, we ought not (as I take it) to fix our eyes so much upon the Popes dominion, and his improvement thereof, as upon the Apostasie of the Church from the rule of Christian Worship by spirituall fornication with Idols; which is the character the holy Ghost gives us in the *Apocalyps*, to know the Antichristian State and Times by. Of which estate, the Pope or False Prophet was indeed to be the Head, and his See *Babylon*, the Metropolis; But the Body was to be, and so is, *Bestia Romana novissimi capitis decem diadematis redimita*, the Roman Empire shiver'd into a plurality of kingdomes, but reunited again under this new Head, and fashioned, and renewed by him into a lively Image of the former *Roman* Ethnicisme, which had but newly received a

[L 1 4]

deadly

deadly blow, and been cast down to the ground by the Lambe and his Champions; this new Idolatry or idolatrous state, this imagining of the wounded Draconising Beast, is that treading down or profaning the Court of the Temple of God, *cap. 11.* that is, of the visible worship of Christ in his Church by a new Gentilisme. Unto which the 42. moneths are attributed as well as to the Beast; and so the beginning of the times of the one, not to be reckoned without, or severed from the other. But whosoever shall impartially search into the stories of the Christian Church, (as all those do not, who labour to diminish the antiquity of Antichristianism, rather then to finde it) will see her not onely tainted, but even all over polluted with spirituall fornication with Saints, Angels, Reliques, yea and Images too, hundreds of yeers before the times of *Pipin* and *Charlemaigne*: nay, the chiefeest part of those lying wonders and strong delusions, whereby this impiety and wickednesse was advanced, was long before that time. How can I then beleieve, that the time of the Gentiles profaning Gods House, and of the Witenesses or Prophets mourning for the same in sackcloth, should not begin till about the yeer 792. whatsoever improvement the Popes dominion then had?

V.

Finding such an Obstacle as this, and loth yet utterly and absolutely to reject this so ancient a tradition, I began to make with my self these *Quares*. First, whether it were needfull to reckon these thousands of yeers compleat, or onely current in the last hun-

hundred; which want of completion, though unknown to us, might abate so much of the full length of 6000. years, as would bring the computation neerer the mark, for the beginning and end of the times of the Antichristian Beast. But finding no grounds to make such a conceit probable, I rejected it as a vain imagination.

But then I made a second *Quare* of greater moment; namely, whether the computation of the years of the world before the promise made to *Abraham*, were or could be certainly known or not? For as for the time after the promise, I make no doubt but it may be known, even almost to a year.

The occasion of such a doubt was the great difference which is found between our Hebrew Copies and the Seventy, concerning the years of the fore-said generations: For though it be true, or likely, that the Seventy translating in *Agypt*, voluntarily and of set purpose, increased the years of those first generations, to make them reach the antiquity of some stories of the *Egyptians*, and thereby exceeded the Hebrew computation above 1300. years: yet it follows not, that all the differences between them and our Hebrew Bibles in the years of those generations, should proceed from this fountain; but some of them perhaps from the reading the Copie they used. For that there should be differences of reading in the Hebrew copies of the old Testament, is not a thing to be so much startled at as some conceive; seeing we finde many such in the Greek Copies of the New. And how can it be proved, that the Church of the *Fews* had in this particular (especi-

especially when Prophecy ceased) a greater privilege then we? For as for that admirable *Masoreticall* method, whereby they are now inviolably preserved from change, it was devised since the coming of Christ, and applied to one Copie onely, which they esteemed most true and authentick; namely, that (as some of them say) which was written by the great *Rabbi Hillels* own hand; and many hundred of yeers after kept as a Relique: Yea neverthelesse might some other Copies, though in generall far inferiour, yet in some few particulars have a better and righter reading then it.

3. That most learned Prelate and mirrour of Bishops, the Lord Primate of *Armagh*, could not be at rest, till by his indefatigable industry, and no small charges (as such a businesse required) he had some foure yeers since gotten from the remnant of the *Samaritans* in *Palestine* into a Christian hand, that admirable Monument, the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moses*; which may be presumed to be that which they received from the captived ten Tribes, when they first learned from them, *to worship the God of Israel*, 2 *King*. 17. 27. This wondrous and non-parl of Manuscripts, he brought hither to *Cambridge* amongst us; and during his stay here some time, was most ready to shew it to all Scholars that came unto him; and so free in communicating the use thereof, that some of us had opportunity by comparing it with our Hebrew Bibles, first to pick out the Alphabet, and then to reade therein. It is in the same Hebrew tongue and words (saving the diverse readings) with our Bibles, but written in
a strange

a strange character, namely, the *Samaritan*, which is supposed to have anciently been the *Hebrew*, till it was changed by *Ezra* at the return from captivity.

In this Book is found a strange difference in the yeers of the generations before the birth of *Abraham*, both from the *Septuagint* and our *Hebrew Bibles*. Before the flood, by diminishing the generations of *Fared*, *Methusalah*, and *Lamech*, it comes short of us. After the flood (for the most part agreeing with the *Septuagint*) it much out-reckons us. To be short, it exceeds in the upshot our computation 301. yeers: so that the birth of *Christ* falls according to it, to be *Anno mundi*, 4254. Agreeable whereto, the 6000. yeer from the creation would be compleat, *Anno Christi*, 1746. and consequently *Antichrists* 42. moneths or 1:60. yeers, would begin *Anno Christi*, 486. which is presently after the deposition of *Augustulus*, in whom the Empire of *Western Rome* expired. And this comes much nearer the point then 792.

Howbeit, far be it from me to affirme any thing thereof, or of the verity of the *Samaritan* computation, or to prefer it in the generall before our *Hebrew*, though some things be found therein, which dissolve a knot or two which makes our *Chronologers* at their wits end. As one for example; how *Abraham* could come into *Canaan* after the daies of his Father (as *S. Stephen* sayes) and yet be but 75. yeers old, *Gen.* 12. 4. when as his Father *Terah* lived 205. yeers, and himself was borne in the 70. yeer of his age, *Gen.* 11. 26. But the *Samaritan* saith, *cap.* 11. 32. that the daies of *Terah* were (but) 145. yeers, which is just;

just; for then *Abraham* was 75. yeers old at his Fathers death; and *Moses* and *S. Stephen* are reconciled; which yet no man can imagine that the Samaritan Scribe ever thought of.

But the thing I aime at in representing these differences, and would propound to the consideration of the pious, sober, and judicious, and with due reverence to the Divine Writ, is, Whether there may not be some secret disposition of Divine Providence in this variety of computation, to *prevent our curiosity in counting the exact time of the day of judgement, and second appearing of Christ: And that as the ambitious Tower of *Babel* was hindered by the confusion of Languages, so our curiosity in this particular be not by a like providence prevented by such a diversity of Computations: For these things concerne not matter of salvation. We know the first ages of the Church followed the computation of the Seventy altogether, though it were most wide of truth; and the chiefest Doctors the Church then had, through ignorance of the Hebrew, for a long time knew not, or beleaved not, there was any other computation. But for contents of faith, and the way of salvation, over such the providence of God watcheth with a carefull eye, though man be heedlesse, wicked, and carelesse of preserving the integrity of that precious treasure committed to their custody. Besides, I nothing doubt, if our books be in any such particular as we speak of, deficient or corrupted, but that the true reading is yet extant in some of the two named, or some other Copy somewhere preserved by Divine Providence, though we cannot

* Luther, in c. 11. Genes. Tom. 2. fol. 2. *Conjicio Deum certo suo consilio in Abrahamo 10. annos intercideret voluisse, ne ipsa anno. ii mundi certa ratione quæ de fine mundi certi aliquid prædicere præsumeret.*

cannot yet know and discern, which those righter readings be. The *Jews* have a saying, *Cum Elias venerit, dissolviet nodos* : And without doubt, when they shall be called, and meet together from all places of the world (which must be before that great Day cometh) strange things will be discovered, which we little dream of.

Now if any man ask, if such a corruption of computation be supposed, where it is most like to be? I answer, not in those generations before the flood (where the Hebrew Computation being the middle between the excessse of the Septuagint and defect of the Samaritan, seems to be crucified, as our Saviour, between two Theeves) but in the generations immediately after the flood; first, because in those the Seventy and the Samaritan for the most part agree; which argues their difference from our Bibles, not to have been voluntary. Secondly, because *S. Luke* in the Genealogie of our Saviour, inserts, as the Seventy do, the generation of *Cainan* immediately after *Arphaxad*, which our Bibles have not; who knows what it means, or whether it argue not a defect thereabout in the Hebrew Copies? Time may discover the meaning thereof. Thirdly, because *Peleg*, at whose birth the Scripture seems to say the earth was divided, was born, according to our Copies, but 101. yeers after the flood; which troubles our Chronologers, as seeming too small a time for eight persons to multiply unto such a number, as may be presumed to have been at the building of the Tower of *Babel*, and at their dispersion thence; which will be much holpen, if either *Cainan* be to be

be inserted (to whose generation the Septuagint allow 130.years) or if any of the other generations of *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, and *Eber* be to be read as both the Septuagint and Samaritan have them. To conclude, if the yeers of but three of those generations between the Flood and *Abraham*, as of *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, and *Nahor*, should prove to be as the Septuagint and Samaritan agreeingly read them, and the generation of *Cainan*, (mentioned by *S. Luke*, and foure times by the Septuagint) also be to be added unto them, the duration of the World hitherto will have been 350. or 360. yeers more then we count of.

If therefore such suppositions as these may be admitted (which I determine not, but leave to such as are able and fit to judge; *Apagite indocti & prophani*) then that Tradition of the seventh thousand yeer to be the day of judgement, and of the glorious reigne of Christ, will (in respect of those Septenary Types of the old Testament) have good probability of Truth: Otherwise, I cannot see how possibly it can be admitted.

F. M.

1 Thess. 5. 21.

Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.

Dr.

Dr. Twisse his third Letter to Mr. Mede, touching
some obscure passages in *Daniel*.

Worthy Sir,

I Am sorry you are offended to have those learned Discussions of that difficult place in *Daniel*, touching the 70. weeks, communicated. I confesse I travell'd not a little for the gaining of them; first at Oxford, where I first discovered some track of them; then at London, by my good friend Dr. Meddus his means, first with Mr. Mason, my good friend, and ancient acquaintance; then with Mr. D. What account soever you make of them, I assure you, I shall make never a whit the lesse reckoning of your learned pains. Good reason your account should proceed according to the exactnesse of your own judgement in these studies: but to me truly they are rare notions. The rather, because I perceive your care is equal in maintaining congruity both with the Hebrew Text, and with the computation of yeers upon such grounds as the world affords. Yet as in the course of your contemplations you shall light upon any further or fuller satisfaction, I should think my self very happy to have my desires satisfied, in being made partaker of them; and of the opinion of that most reverend Prelate D. Usher, the Lord Primate of Armagh, concerning the same, which you gain'd of him by conference. Otherwise, I shall bethink my self of a course to obtain it from himself, which I conceive to be very possible more wayes then one.

I desired by Dr. Meddus to obtain your interpretation of three particulars in *Daniel*, Dan. 7. 12. As concerning the rest of the Beasts, they had their dominion
taken

taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. Conradus Graerus, in his *Historia Antichristi*, seems to interpret it of the lasting of each of the three first nationall Monarchies, after the death of each first Monarch; which in my judgement is as applicable to the fourth Beast, as to the three first. The other is, Dan. 7. 8. touching the little horne, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up: which Graerus applies to Mahomet, and his renting of three Provinces from the Roman Monarchy; namely, Syria, Egypt, and Africa. I had rather understand it of Antichrist, as Moulin doth: But whether it be of Provinces rent from the Empire by Antichrist, or by others about his rising, and what they are, I am to seek. And of the reconciling of this, with that Rev. 17. 12. where it is said, that the ten horns are ten kings, which receive power as kings one houre with the Beast. Good Sir, pardon my over great boldnesse.

I have sent my Copie of your-Paraphrase of the last of Peter, and your discourse of that fiery judgement, to be considered of as you think good, and according to your motion. When Peter saith, his beloved brother Paul, in all his Epistles speaking ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων, he addeth, ἐν ᾧ is are some things διυονόματα; not ἐν αἷς, though some Copies read ἐν αἷς, as Beza observeth; yet little reason that should carry it. Hemingius reads ἐν ᾧ is, and for the perverting of those things, gives instance in the Millenaries. But if the embracing of that opinion from a Text of Scripture, were the corrupting of it, were not Peter himself far more liable thereunto in this Epistle, then Paul? I know some to the contrary have observed something in Paul against the opinion of
the

the Thousand yeers Regnum Sanctorum, as namely. Piscator: I have heard of no writer that from Pauls Text hath peaded for it. I looked you would have noted something concerning ἡμέτερον αἰῶνα, which to my judgement seems a singular phrase.

I will observe carefully, to retain your 70. weekes by me without communicating them to any. As for Doctor Potter, he hath seen upon my knowledge your Specimina upon the Seales and Trumpets, as also your Generals: and if I be not deceived, that of Regnum Lapidis, and Regnum Montis in Daniel. The rest I will communicate unto him very shortly, as Placita Judæorum; and your Notes upon Iustine; or what else soever you shall desire, either to him or any other, and that in your own Name, that he may know your good affection towards him, by your desire to gratifie him in such speciall pieces of no vulgar contemplation. I desire to commend your selfe and worthy studies to the blessing of God, and rest

Newbery, March 5.
1629.

Your very loving Friend
much obliged,

W. Twisse.

[M m]

Mr.

*Mr. Mede's third Letter to Dr. Meddus, touching
the explanation of some obscure passages
in Daniel.*

S I R,

I Have nothing upon the seventh of *Daniel*, but what you have seen in those two Discourses, viz. * *The Purport of the foure kingdoms in Daniel*; And secondly, *The description of the great day of judgement*, Dan 7. Both which I sent you written with mine own hand, to be communicated to Dr. *Twisse*; and the Letter being sent me back, to take a Copy for my self, I returned it again unto you.

* See Mr. Mede's answer to Mr. Hain's second letter, and his letter to Dr. Meddus.

As for those three chapters of the *Apocalyps*, I have not yet done a word; and see so much businesse now coming upon me, that I know not when I shall begin. For I can do nothing in those things but in silence and security of not being distracted. In the mean time I must desire my friends to content themselves with those short *Specimina* concerning those Chapters which they had at the beginning of my communication of my Meditations on these things. And it may be, if I had not communicated them to so many, till they had been more full and perfect, I had been ere this time more forward then I am.

Concerning your three questions, I have chosen to make answer to them this festivall week, not knowing after it be past, when I shall have so much leisure again. And first I will begin with the two last.

Qu. 1. If the Horns with eyes and mouth, speaking words against the most high, &c. in Daniel or the fourth

fourth Beast ruling in that *Horne*; be the same with *S. Johns Bestia novissimi capitis*, and consequently the *ten horns*, amongst which that *Horne* ruled, the same *kingdoms* which *S. John* saw typed by the like number of horns, as the Church from her infancy beleaved; how can *S. John*, who saith, that *his ten Kings* receive their *kingdoms* at the same time or *houre* with his *Beast*, be reconciled with *Daniel*, who saith, *the wicked horne* rose up after him? Dan. 7.

Resp. I translate אַחֲרֵיהֶם in Dan 7. 24. [not, after them, but] *behinde them*, as the Greek doth, ὀπίσσω αὐτῶν: And take the meaning implied to be, that the *ten kings* were not aware of the growing up of the *little horne*, till it had overtopped them. The learned in the Tongues know, that אַחֲרֵי & אַחֲרָא significas well * *behind* in place, as *after* in time; and the *first* as often and frequently every whit as the *latter*: So also *post* in Latine, is indifferently either *loci* or *temporis*. The translation cannot be excepted against, as either new, or strained: The sense is obvious and most agreeable to the event; and so we shall not need seek any other way to avoid the appearance of contradiction, viz. The *ten horns* which *Daniel*, as he was surveying the *fourth Beast*, at length observed to grow out of his head, and a *little horne* with eyes and a mouth, to spring up amongst them, and to displant three of them, ver. 8. the Angel interprets, ver. 24. to be *ten kings*; that is, *kingdoms*, which should at last arise out of that fourth (i. e. *Roman*) kingdome; and another (viz. *Antichrist*) should arise after them (or rather, *behinde them*) which should be *diverse from the first*; that is, a kingdome of ano-

[M m 2]

ther

* *Vid.*
Gen. 22. 23
Exod. 14.
19.
Josh. 8. 2.
2 Kings 5.
18.
2 Chron.
13. 13.
Ez. k. 3. 12.
& alibi.

ther and differing nature from those *ten*; and should bring down (or humble) three of those kings; and play those pranks which are mentioned in this Chapter. Thus the sense is obvious. Otherwise it were not impossible to expound [*after them*] to be in order of number, and not in order of time, which we in English would expresse, *And another shall rise up besides them*; that is, *besides the ten*, and so make the eleventh. But we shall not need so harsh and unusual a way. Besides, it might be granted, that the *little horne*, in respect of his ἀκμή, and height of dominion, was *after* the ten kings, though his beginning were at the same time when they began.

Qu. 2. What were those *three kings* which the *little horne* is said to have *displanted*, Dan. 7. 8. or as the Angel interprets, v. 24. *brought down or humbled* הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־הָאָרֶץ, which the Vulgar turns *humiliabit*, the Greek ταπεινώσει, *Irenæus, deminorabit, vel (ut in alio exemplari) dehonorabit*; *Vatablus, opprimet*; *Junius, deprimet*?

Resp. In my larger interpretations of the *Trumpets* in *Rev. 8.* you have at the end of the *second trumpet* a table of ten kings or kingdoms, whereinto the *Roman Empire* was divided about *Anno 456.* and forward; the off-spring of which nations, through many alterations (partly by the inconstancy of humane things, partly occasioned by the enlargement of the Christian faith) are the body of most of the kingdoms and states of *Christendome* at this day.

Look upon the **Table*, and then I answer you thus: the *three kings* which *Daniel* saith the *Antichristian horne* with eyes and mouth (i. e. *qui cum reverà cornu tan-*

**Vid. Com.*
Apoc. pag.
8. & Apoc.
of latter
times.
pag. 82.

tantum sit, pro capite tamen sese gerit, cujus est proprium os & oculos habere) I say, the three kings which Daniel saith this Antichristian horn should *depreſſe* and *diſplant*, to advance himself, were those whose dominions extended into *Italy*, and so stood in his light.

First that of the *Greeks* (now after the division and dilaceration of the Empire, but one of the kingdoms) whose Emperour *Leo Iſaurus*, for the quarrell of Image-worship, the *Horn* excommunicated, and made his subjects of *Italy* revolt from their allegiance.

Secondly, That of the *Longobards*, (successors to the *Ostrogothes*) whose kingdom he caused by the aid of the *Franks* to be wholly ruined and extirpated, thereby to get the *Exarchate* of *Ravenna* (which after the revolt from the *Greeks*, the *Longobards* were seized on) for a Patrimony to *S. Peter*.

Thirdly, The last which he *humbled*, was the kingdom of the *Frankes* it selfe, continued in the Empire of *Germany*, whose Emperours from the days of *Henry* the fourth, this proud domineering *Horne* excommunicated, deposed and trampled under his feet, and never suffered to live in rest, till he made them not onely to quit their interest in the election of Popes, and investitures of Bishops, but that remainder also of jurisdiction in *Italy*, wherewith together with the *Roman* name he had once inſeoffed and invested their Predecessors.

These were the Kings, by *diſplanting*, or (as the Vulgar hath) *humbling* of whom the Pope got elbow-room by degrees, and advanced himselfe to that height of temporall Majesty, and absolute greatness, which made him so terrible in the world. See in the

[M m 3.]

Table

Table of the Ten Kings, Numb. 3. 9, 10.

In another Letter upon the same argument, there is this additionall Observation.

“ And here note, it is one thing for the Ten Kings to
 “ give their power & authority unto the Beast *capitis*
 “ *novissimi* (as S. Ioh. speaks Rev. 17.) that is, voluntarily
 “ to subject themselves, and yeeld homage to him as
 “ their Head and Principal, and another thing for the
 “ same Beast or Antichristian horn to displant, depress or
 “ humble them. The first should be common to al the
 “ Ten (as was revealed to S. Iohn) The later proper to
 “ three of them (as was shewed to Dan.) For observe,
 “ that as in the history of our Saviours acts penned
 “ by the four Evangelists, one relates that which ano-
 “ ther omits, and *contra*: So is it in these Propheti-
 “ call descriptions of the Fourth Beast by Daniel and
 “ Iohn.

Qu. 3. How those words in Dan. 7. ver. 12. are to be interpreted and applyed, *viz. As concerning the rest of the Beasts, they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time?*

Resp. Before I answer, it must be known and remembred, that for that [*as concerning*] there is nothing in the Originall but the Copulative *Vau*, which as the sense requires is to be translated not only Copulatively, but *disiunctivè*, *adversativè*, *causalitèr*, *ordinativè*, and sometimes as a particle of similitude, and the like; it being of it selfe as a *materia prima*. In the latter part of this verse it is translated *adversativè* yet, [*Yet their lives, &c.*] for which in the Originall is nothing but the same Conjunction *Vau*.

This premised, I answer.

First,

First, If *Beasts* here, be meant of the *three first Beasts*, ver. 4, 5, 6. it is to be taken by way of a *Parenthesis*, implying a tacite answer to a question: For *Daniel* having spoken so largely of the destruction of the *fourth Beast*, and nothing of the other, it might be asked; Yea, but what became of the former three? He answers as concerning them also, *they had their dominion taken away, but their lives were prolonged for a time, and a season*; that is, they reigned their time, and then had their dominion taken away: And thus our Translators seem to have understood it, and accordingly to have fitted their translation, by turning *Vau* [*as concerning*:] This is an easie and smooth interpretation, nor doe I see any sufficient reason why it should not satisfy.

Secondly, But some of the *Hebrew Commentators* understand not *Beasts* here, of the three beasts forementioned, but of other *Beasts*, other States and Kingdomes then reigning in the world, at which time the four beasts should be destroyed; That these also, as well as the fourth beast and his limmes, should have their kingdomes taken away, though not at the same instant, yet some time after; and so *Vau* shall not need be translated [*as concerning*,] but [*also*;] *also the rest of the beasts*, &c. As for the word *beasts*, to be taken here for other kingdomes as well as the four great ones, needs make no scruple. For we shall find it so in the next Chapter, where it is said of the *Medo-Persian* *Ram*, verse 4. that *no beasts might stand before him*, that is, no state or kingdom was able to resist his power: so here may the *rest of the beasts* and kingdomes contemporary with the fourth beast.

[M m 4

And

And this interpretation would sound well with the words of *S. Iohn* in the end of the 19. Chapter, where it being said, that the *Beast* and *false Prophet* were cast into the fire (as *Daniel* saith of his fourth beast, chap. 7. v. 11.) it followeth, *And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, &c.* as if he had meant to expresse this of *Daniel*, and the rest of the beasts had their dominion taken away, &c. But the difficulty then will be, how the latter part of the words should be taken, viz. yet (or and, or but) *their lives were prolonged for a season and time*? The Rabbines take it for some season and time after the fourth beast was destroyed; and *R. Solomon*, at the time of the warre with *Gog* and *Magog*, which they look for soon after their restitution upon the destruction of the fourth beast. But whether can this stand with *S. Pauls* assertion, that the fourth beast terminating in the man of sinne, shall bee destroyed at the ἐμφάνεια or appearing of Christs coming? How should any beasts lives be prolonged for a season and time after that coming? Or should we expound this season and time of a thousand year after, when the last and finall execution of Christ upon his enemies is to be? But *Daniel* seems to joyn the appearance of Christ in the clouds to receive a kingdome, with this destruction of the rest of the beasts together with the fourth beast, and so not to admit of such a distance. Let others judge.

3. But I will not conceale that I have suspected, there might possibly be a third Interpretation farre differing from them both, and which would make the vision fully to agree with the Angels interpretation:

tion : But the words then must be construed much otherwise then they use to be. *viz.* Daniel in the former verse mentioning precisely *the body of the beast to be given to the flames*, it should follow thus; And as the body was burned and destroyed, so *the rest of the beast* (*viz.* the ten horns and Ruffling horn) had their *dominion* (at the same time the body was burned) taken away; and *prolongation of life was given them for a season and time*, *viz.* untill I saw one like to the Sonne of man coming in the clouds, &c. that is, they reigned till the Sonne of man came in the clouds, &c. The reason why I thought of this interpretation, is because the word which is translated here plurally, is, as it is pointed in the Originall, of the singular number, namely חִיָּתָא, whereas if it were the plurall, it should be חִיָּתִים. For that, say the Chaldee Grammarians, is the difference between the singular and the plurall *Emphatick*, that the one hath Scheva [·] in the *penultima*, the other hath Camets [·] And so we render חִיָּתָא with Scheva in this Chap. singularly [*beast*,] twice in the following verses of this Chap. *viz.* verse 19. 23. The reason which moved the Interpreters to translate it here plurally was, because of the plurall affixe following [*their dominion*, שְׁלֹטָנֵיהֶן] and the plurall חִיָּתִים *lives*. But this may be because *that remainder of the beast* under the *hornes* consisted of many kingdomes, and in that respect the dominion and duration thereof is expressed with the plurall affixe, as of many.

March 31.
1630.

Yours,

Joseph Mede.

A

A more distinct and perspicuous expression of the last of those three wayes to interpret that twelfth verse of Dan. 7.

I Confesse my skill in the *Chaldee* is no more but Grammaticall, yet thus much a little smattering in Grammar could teach me, and so made me seek in what sense it might be translated singularly, notwithstanding the plurall affix following, and what this rest or remainder of the *Beast* (if it be so turned) might be.

First, I observed that in the destruction of the fourth *Beast* immediately before mentioned, *the body of the Beast* was precisely and particularly named, whereby I began to conceive the remainder here spoken of might be the *horns* of the *Beast*, that is, the eyed and mouthed horn with that *Decarchy* of horns subject to him, which the holy Ghost would tell us was destroyed at the same time, and together with the body of the *Beast*; and so the Text to be construed thus, *The body of the Beast was destroyed and given to the burning flame, and the rest of the Beast also (viz. the horns) had their dominion taken away, after that a continuance of life had been given them for a season, and for a time.* Thus interpreted, it would answer to that part of the Angels interpretation, verse 25. which saith, that the state of the *Beast* under the wicked horns dominion, should last *a time, and times, and halfe a time*; whereunto otherwise there will be nothing answering in the vision.

Secondly, the kingdome of the Son of man immediately

mediately following the expiration of this *season and time* in the vision, would answer to that in the interpretation verse 22. The *horn* prevailed against the Saints, *untill the Ancient of days came*, &c. and the Saints possessed the kingdom.

Thirdly, It is certain that the *Session of Iudgement* described in the vision, sate to destroy the wicked *horn*, for so saith the Angell, verse 26. *But the Iudgement shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion*: And Daniel himselfe in the vision expected to see that in speciall; For as soon as the *bench was set*, and the books were opened, verse 10. *I beheld then* (saith he verse 11.) *because of the voyce of the great words which the horn spake*, viz. he looked what would become of the *horn*; something then should seem to follow in speciall concerning it, else Daniel was frustrate of his looking; But what followes, *I beheld untill the Beast was slain*, this is something but generall onely, and his body destroyed, this indeed is speciall, but not that which Daniel looked after; for how would these hang together [*I looked to see what would become of the Beasts horn*; and, *I saw his body destroyed*? should it not seem rather to follow to answer Daniels looking, *And the rest of the Beast also*, that is, not the *body* onely, or *people* of the Beast's dominion were destroyed, but the *horns* also with their *Captain-horn* who spake the *big words* (that is, the Antichristian state then domineering) had their *dominion taken away* after they had enjoyed it a *season and a time*?

Lastly, Those words of the Angel's interpretation, verse 26. *The iudgement shall sit and take away his dominion* (that is, the *Horns dominion*) seem to have
reference

reference to that passage in the vision which saith in the same words, That *the rest of the Beast had their dominion taken away*. The reason of the plurall Affix answering to a singular Antecedent, being because this *rest of the Beast* had in it a plurality of kingdoms, according to the rules of the Grammarians, That a singular Antecedent to be taken collectively or distributively, may have a plural number answer to it. This was my adventure, &c.

J. M.

Mr. Burnet his Letter to Mr. Mede, touching
the Provostship of Trinity Colledge
neer Dublin.

S I R,

I Am bold to write unto you though a stranger, to certifie you that Dr. Bedle Provost of Trinity Colledge near Dublin, is chosen Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, appointed thereto by the King: howbeit some time will be ere he leave the Colledge; in the mean space I am bold to intreat your Answer, to know if you will accept the place of Provost, if you be chosen thereto, as you were writ to by my Lord Primate formerly before Mr. Bedle went thither. I am now writing to my Lord Primate an Answer of Letters this day I received from him, and do certify him of this accident, for it was but this week that the King granted it, and no Letter is yet gone over. I sent the Book you sent me long since to my Lord Primate; and so expecting your Answer next return, I commend you to God Almighty, resting

London, April 12.
1635.

Your loving Friend,
Francis Burnet.

Dr.

Dr. Ames his Letter to Mr. Mede, touching
his *Clavis Apocalyptica*.

Good Mr. Mede,

I Shewed your *Clavis* to one much given to those studies,
and desired his censure, which having at length received;
I send herewith unto you, desiring from you to receive
what you think fit to be opposed: you shall perceive
his full meaning out of the printed Treatise adjoynd. He
seemeth to me, to carry all to the Jewes, upon no other
grounds then communion of Phrases. Thus with hearty
salutations to you, &c. I rest,

Franker,
Oct. 11.

Your loving Friend,

W. Ames.

S I R,

YOur Answer to Lawenus, I have received (that you
be no longer in suspense) and like so well, that I
shall long to see more of your Notions in that kinde; yet
me think that Millenary state spoken of, may well be un-
derstood of the Church raised from a dead condition, and
so continued for that space. — Thus with salutations
to your selfe, &c. I rest,

Franker,
May 27.

Your loving Friend,

W. Ames.

Mr.

Mr. Mede *his third Letter to my Lord of Armagh.*

Right Reverend and my most Honoured Lord,

I Make no question but your Colledge is farre better provided of a Provost, then it would have been of me : who never could perswade my selfe I was fit to be the Head and Governour of the onely Seminary of a kingdome. And therefore though my name were the second time brought upon the Stage, yet was it without consent or privy of mine. Indeed a Proposition was made unto me upon Master *Bedles* preferment (and before the newes thereof was sent to him) whether I would accept the place, in case I were again chosen thereto ? Unto which, because I answered not by a direct and categoricall denyall, but onely alleadged divers reasons both from mine own unfitnesse in divers respects, and other circumstances which might and did deterre me therefrom ; leaving them who made the motion to inferre the conclusion : It pleased some (to whom I am yet beholding for their affection) so to interpret it, as if in modesty onely I had by such a kind of answer concealed my willingnesse : which as soon as I understood, and that some (*Sir Nathanael Rich* by name) endeavoured upon the motion of some others to procure me to be named by his Majesty ; I presently took him off, and that so effectually, as he stirred no more, though perhaps I was not a little blamed by some of my friends for so doing. But enough of this.

For my *Clavis*, I am afraid that Reverend Archbishop

Bishop your Lordship nameth, values it farre more then it deserveth; though it may be something I have by Gods goodnesse discovered toward the better understanding of that book; which if I have, the praise be to God alone, to whom it is onely due.

But I cannot imagine what those *additions* thereto should be, which your Lordship saith you received out of the North of Ireland. I sent a Copy or two to *Franeker* to Doctor *Ames*: He sends one of them to *Daniel Laveaus*, an ancient Student in those parts in that prophetic (whose *Apparatus* to a bigger volume of many yeeres study, was printed the same yeer,) desiring his censure of it. He finding it not to sute with his notions, wrote presently *structura in Clavem Apocalypticam*, not knowing my name, but calling me *Synchronista*, and sometimes seemed to be very angry in his confutation of me, though he agreed with me in the mainest paradox of all. He sends it to Doctor *Ames*, as I suppose not intending me. But the Doctor dispatcheth it to me, together with his printed book, for my better understanding his meaning; desires to receive again from me, what I thought fit to oppose by way of defence. Thus unwittingly I made my selfe work, yet such as in the doing, I at length found some benefit by, having my torpid thoughts revived, and quickened, and the second time more able to wield any notions then they were at the beginning. But I should admire, if your Lordship had seen a Copy of this. For besides that I sent into *Friseland*, I conceive not how any other should get abroad, having as I thought kept mine own Copy private in my study.

That

That touching the yeeres of *Israel* and *Judah*, I know not what it should be, unlesse that the 40. yeeres of *Judahs* sin, for which the Prophet lay so many days upon his right side, were the yeeres of *Manasses* Idolatry, to which the Scripture particularly ascribes their captivity, 2 *Kings* 24. 2. 23. 26. *Fer.* 15. 4. which I thought had been a novelty, and cryed *εὐρηκα*, but since I find it to be the opinion of *R. Kimchi*, whom I suppose also the first authour thereof. *Salvinus* addes *Hieronymus* (not *Josephus*) *de Prado*, & *Funcius*, but I never looked them. It was but a conjecture, which had it been new, I conceived would not have been altogether unacceptable to your Lordship, whom yet far be it from me to teach or inform, but only to be better instructed or confirmed by your Lordships profounder judgment.

Presently after my *Clavis* was printed, I drew at the intreaty of some friends, *Specimina interpretatio- num Apocalypticarum ad amussim Clavis Apocalyptica*; which finding beyond my expectation or merit to be accepted, I have since gone more largely through some part thereof, as the description of the *Theatrum Apocalypticum*, cap. 4. the 6. seales and 7. Trumpets unto the 11. Chapter; the rest is yet but *Specimina*, as it was in the beginning: the last Chapter whereof I once sent your Lordship, namely *de Millennio*. But could I have gotten an orthographicall Scribe, I would have sent your Lordship all ere this, both *Specimina*, and the larger Expositions upon the first halfe. But I had no such of mine owne, and those who have, are not so kinde as to lend them for any hire. And for my selfe, I should never get through

through that which is mine own without everlasting mending, blurring, and pausing at every sentence to alter it. I am exceedingly sorry for the death of *Buxtorf* and *Amama*, especially the latter, as being but now *in flore*, and one that had a naturall *genius* to enlighten the Text of Scripture, and to find the notion of the sacred language.

If *Ireland* will not spend the remainder of my Pamphlets, if your Lordship have opportunity to send them, I shall willingly entertain them again, their fellows being all gone.

Thus with my most humble Service remembered to your gracious Lordship, desiring the God of heaven to bless and preserve your Grace, I rest, and am

Christ's Colledge,
May 4. 1630.

Your Lordships most ready
to be commanded,

Joseph Mede.

*Specimina Interpretationum Apocalypticarum ad
Prophetiam primam seu sigillarem spectantium,
Ad amussim Clavis Apocalyptica.*

PROphetia prima Sigillorum complectitur Fata Imperii: Altera Βιβλαειδ'is Fata Ecclesiæ seu Religionis; donec tandem utrumque coaluerit in Ecclesia regnante; factis Regnis hujus mundi Domini nostri & Christi ejus.

Quemadmodum enim in *V. T. Daniel* secundum Imperiorum successiones, Ecclesiæ sub iisdem de-

[N n]

gentis

gentis fata percurrit ; ita quoque Apocalypsis Rem Christianam Romani, quod adhuc superfuturum erat, Imperii rebus accommodare censenda est. Nec eventus abnuvit : Primæ enim Prophetiæ interpretatio ex generali hac Hypothesi speciatim sic procedit.

De Prophetiæ primæ sigillis sex primis.

Sex prima Sigilla sextuplici caractere (1. Victoriæ, 2. Cædis publicæ. 3. Stateræ annonariæ. 4. Mortis omnigenæ. 5. Altaris seu Martyrum lanienæ omnium gravissimæ. 6. Terræmotûs politici) totidem distinguunt Imperii Romani stantis adhuc & vigentis intervalla, inde usque ab Ascensione Christi, seu Excidio Hierosolymitano, ad insignem illam *Constantini*, successorumque ejus auspiciis factam Orbis Romani mutationem, quam scilicet Spiritus S. mirabili illo Cœli Terræque Σεισμῶν indigitar, cap. 6. vers. 12.

Mens Sigilli septimi, id est, septem Tubarum.

Sigillum autem septimum (quod nihil aliud est quàm septem Tubæ) caducum Imperii Romani statum designat, eidemque bellicum canit, haud multò post *Juliani* atque Ethnicismi excessum, septuplici plagarum ordine, ob sanguinem Martyrum Jesu olim effusum (vers. 4. cum vers. 10. & 11. cap. 6) ruituro.

Harum quatuor minores fuere; Orbique occidentali sive Latino ferè propriæ; quibus utique sanandis erat Episcopus Romanus, dehinc orbi Latino in caput futurus.

Quarum plagarum imaginibus ritè accommodandis,

dandis, illud Lectorem neutiquam fugiat; Universitatem Romanam hîc à Spiritu Sancto tacitè assimilari Systemati Mundano, cujus partes sunt, Terra, Mare, Flumina, Cœlum, Stellæ: eâ ratione, ut Imperii Romani systema, suam quoque Terram, politicam utique, habeat, quæ sit instar illius Telluris; Mare, quod Maris similitudinem Terram suam ambiendo gerat; Flumina quoque politica, quæ aliorum Fluminum ritu, ex Mari suo originem ducant, eodémque revertantur; Solem denique, aliásque Stellâs in potestatis Cœlo, Solem Stellâsque in Cœlo physico referentes. Hac analogiâ observatâ, interpretatio, ut similibus veterum Prophetarum figuris munita, ita proclivis erit, & Rei gestæ omninò appositifima; nempe in hunc modum.

T U B A I.

Prima, inde à Paganismo, haud multis post *Fuliani* obitum annis, ex Imperio penitus eliminato; terribili Gentium Septentrionalium crepitante Nimbo, Terram, i. Territorium populûmve Romanum tertiâ sui parte vastat, inibiq; Magnates plebeiósque pessundat. Vide eodem spectantem Grandinis imaginem, *Esa.* 28. 2. 30. 30. 32. 19.

T U B A II.

Secunda primam excipiens, Mare, i. Ditionem Romanam ex calamitoso Romæ (Montis illius magni) semel iterûmque captæ atque ultionis divinæ hostilibûsque flammis conflagentis, casu, provincias ejus jam pro libitu rapientibus, atque in nova Regna diserpentibus Barbaris, miserè cruentavit laceravitque magnâ tum Urbium tum Legionum in occidente strage. Videtis similis Maris figuram, *Fer.* 51. 36.

[N n 2]

can-

eandemque universam, *Esa.* 2.2. *Fer.* 51.44. Montis verò, *Fer.* 51.25. ubi *Lxx.* ὡς ὄρη ἐμπεπυρισμένον, perinde atque hic ὁ εὖς μέγα περὶ καιόμενον.

T U B A I I I.

Tertia Tuba Hesperum Romanum, hoc est, occidentis *Cæsarem* fulgidam stellam, jam ab eo tempore, quo *Genfericus* Vandalus Romam captam diripuerat, præcipitem & quasi Morti aliquantisper *Cæsarcularum* quorundam mutuis lanienis & insidiis intereuntium, nominibus, obluçantem; tandem *Odoacre* Herulorum Rege (*Anno* 476.) immisso, de coelo potestatis suæ revulsum penitus deturbavit, atque extinxit, amarissimo Provinciarum Civitatumque barbarie dehinc conficiendarum fato. Vide similem Stellæ cadentis Imaginem de Rege *Babylonis*, *Esa.* 14.12. Fluminum, *Ezek.* 29.4,5. *Numb.* 24.7.

T U B A I V.

Quarta Majestatis Romanæ in Urbe Roma lumen, quo sub *Gothis* etiam Regibus eousque splenderat, penitus ademptum ivit. Postquam nimirum ab Anno 546. in bello isto Orthogothico, *Belisario* primùm, deinde *Narsete Justiniani* ducibus, gesto, à *Totila* semel iterumque captâ, incensâ, tertiâque sui parte (nescio quo fati mysterio) demolitâ, incolis insuper omnibus (memorandum Fortunæ ludibrium!) destitutâ; à *Narsete* tandem post tot funera & clades receptâ, verum turbine paulò post & fulguribus prostratâ; Urbium quondam Regina Consulari potestate, Senatûs autoritate, reliquisque quibus tanquam Stellis occidentalem orbem hætenus

nus irradiaverat, Magistratibus nunc demum penitus orbata, atque in nescio quem ignobilem Ducatum ex tanto gloriæ fulgore delapsa, Ravennæ (heu conversionem!) deinceps servire cogeretur & tributa pendere. Frequentissima est hac mente Solis, Lunæ & Stellarum Imago apud Prophetas; ut *Esa.* 13. 10. 60. 20. vid. *Targ.* c. 34. 4. 12. *Fer.* 15. 9. vid. *Targ.* *Ezek.* 32. 7. vid. *Targ.* *Amos.* 8. 9. *Joel.* 2. 10, 31. 3. 15.

De tribus Væ-Tubis.

Sed tres reliquæ Tubæ graviores & immedicabiles futuræ erant; nimirum ad Rem insuper Christianam jampridem εἰδωλολατρεύουσαν vindicandam auctæ: ideoque trium Væ nuncupatione à prioribus discriminatæ.

Prima Væ-Tuba, seu

T U B A V.

Harum prima à locustis Saracenicis ex Tartareo Mahumedicæ seductionis Fumo, Clavigeri Satanæ operâ in orbem immixtis, atque ad militiam & imperium apprimè instructis (vers. 9. & 7.) jamdiu præterit. Quibus quidem neutrius Romæ statum, neque nostræ hujus in occidente Ecclesiastico dominio nuper instauratum, neque illum alterius in oriente à priorum Tubarum plagis hucusque fere salvum, interficere, hoc est, funditus evertere atque excindere datum fuit (vers. 5.) sed duntaxat Locustarum instar depascere & languenti per multa secula supplicio utrumque Scorpionum ritu labefactare atque affligere, (ibid.) Similem Locustarum imaginem de Assyriis Babylonisque Judæam vastaturis, vide-

[N n 3]

sis

sis apud *Joëlem* duobus primis capitibus.

Secunda Væ-Tuba, seu

T U B A V I.

Altera Væ-plagarum à Turcis ab Euphrate irumpentibus, Equestrique militiæ addictissimis etiamnum incumbit. His verò datum esse vidimus, alterum illum statum Romanum in Oriente non solum, ut locustis Saracenicis, depascere & torquere, sed funditus evertere atque occidere. cap.9. vers. 18.

Tertia Væ-Tuba, seu

T U B A V I I. *suspensa.*

Quoniam verò Gentes, quæ duas istas plagas evasere, nondum exemplo moniti resipuerint, quin adhuc colant *Dæmonia* seu *Deunculos*, & simulacra aurea, & argentea, & ærea, & lapidea, & lignea, quæ neque cernere possunt, neque audire, neque ambulare, &c. (c.9. v. 20.) proinde illis Tertia Væ-plaga Tubarumque novissima vindicandis superest, quæ nimirum Bestiariorum (de quibus in secunda Prophetia) *πανολεθρια* Regni Romani reliquias funditus abolebit, Regnumque Sanctorum à Prophetis Evangelizatum inducet.

Cæterum cum hujus Tubæ ratio ita secundæ Prophetiæ connexa sit, ut ex illius intellectu hujus interpretatio ferè tota pendeat; proinde illuc ulterior ejus explicatio differenda est; quo & Spiritui S. clangorem ejus suspendere, ob communem putà utriusque Prophetiæ catastrophem, visum fuerat. cap.10. per totum.

My

My Lord of *Armagh* his Letter to Mr. *Mede*.

Worthy SIR,

I Received long since your most accurate explication of the principall Chapters of the Revelation; together with your learned conjecture upon the succession of the Babylonian Kings recorded in the fragments of Berosus and Megasthenes. I cannot sufficiently commend either the one, or the other: but acknowledge my selfe to have learned from you in both, what otherwise would never have come into my minde. I am now in hand with a Treatise, *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*; setting down as much as may be found in the Manuscripts that remain of our Nation touching that Argument. I have entred also upon the Determination of the controversies which concern the Chronologie of the sacred Scripture: wherein I shall in many places need your help. I desire to hear from you of the state of things there: and so recommending all your godly Studies and endeavours unto the blessing of our good God, evermore rest

Armagh, August 10.
1632.

Your most assured
loving Friend,

Ja. Armachanus.

[N n 4]

Mr.

*Mr. Mede his Answer touching some corruption
crept into the sacred Text of Scripture, and his
endeavour to reconcile the Hebrew
Text and Septuagint, with the
New Testament.*

I have heard alleaged; If any corruption had
crept into the Hebrew Text, at or before our Savi-
ours time, the holy Apostles and Penmen of the
New Testament, would have restored it, or some-
where intimated it. But what if they did so, and yet
we had rather follow the *Masorites* then them?

Mat. 15. 9. out of Esay 29. 13.

Μάτλω δὲ σέβομαι με, διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας
ἐν ταλμυα ἀνθρώπων.

The Hebrew Text reads now.

* יהוה יראתם אחי מצות אנשים מלמדה

Where *ματλω* an emphatical word appears not.
But the Lxx. and S. *Matthew* with them,

יהוה יראתם אחי מצות אנשים מלמדה
docentium or edocēta hominum mandata mei reverentia Sed
eorum frustra

See יהוה in the same Prophet for *frustra*, cap. 45. 9.
ibid. versibus 18, 19. item cap. 49. 4.

The *Masorites* might have pointed it יהוה, as
they doe often elsewhere, *Jod* for *Vau*, yea in the
Chaldee יהוה is the same with יהוה

Also מלמדה may bee pointed מלמדה. Then it
would be *Frusta cultus eorum mei mandata homi-*

nium

* Sed fuit
cultus eo-
rum erga
me manda-
ta homi-
num edo-
ctum or
edocētus.
i. Frustrā
verò reve-
rentur me
mandata
hominum
docentes:
viz. refu-
ring Docen-
tium to
יהוה
frustrā re-
verentia eo-
rum mei
qui docent
mandata
hominum.

num docens, and never a letter altered but *Fod* into *Vau*.

It is to be noted that the Prophet calls Idols and Idol-worship often in this book וַהֲוָה, i. *Vanity*.

Acts 15. 17. out of Amos 9. 12.

Ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ καταλοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Κύριον, &c.

The Hebrew now reads marvellous differinglly,
Ὅπως ἂν κατακληρονομή-
σωσι τὸ κατάλοιπον τῆς
Ἰδουμαίας, καὶ possideant
residuum Edom.

But the Lxx. read, and the Apostles ratifie it,
Ut requirant Deum (vel Do-
minum qui hominum.

For the Lxx. often translate לָא by κύριος,
more then 40. times, אֱלֹהִים above an 100.

Heb. 8. 9. out of Jerem. 31. 32.

ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐκ ἐνέμεσαν ὅν διαθήκη μου, καὶ ἡμέλῃσιν αὐτῶν, λέγει Κύριος.

The Hebrew hath now in place of ἡμέλῃσιν αὐτῶν.
בְּיָמֵיהֶם, which is κατακυριεύουσι αὐτῶν, a clean
contrary sense, and inconsequent to what goes
before. I know how it is wont to be salved.

But did not the Lxx. and the Apostle with the m read
בְּיָמֵיהֶם which without any more adoc is ἡμέλῃσιν
or ἀφ᾽ ἑσπέρια αὐτῶν, or ἐβδόμενα αὐτῶν, and makes
the sense coherent with what went before. י and
י differ not very much. See the same construction
of לַיָּמִים in the same Prophet, cap. 14. 15.

But

But in these and other such, it may be said, the Apostles accommodated to the capacity of the times, and so followed the LXX. as a known and received Translation, but not either to correct the then Hebrew-reading by, or prefer that of the *Hellenists* before it.

But what will they say, if sometimes the Apostles follow a reading differing both from the Septuagint and Hebrew, even where the LXX and Hebrew exactly agree together?

Matth. 27. 9, 10. out of Zach. 11. 13.

Τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἱερεμίου τῷ Περφίτῃ, λέγοντι, Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τρία χεῖλα ἀργύρια (τὴν τιμὴν τῷ τετιμημένῃ, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο διὰ τοῦ ὕψους Ἰσραὴλ) καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἄζρόν τῷ κεραμέως, καὶ οὐ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος.

The words included in the parenthesis, are a brief comprehension of what went before, and interlaced onely for explication sake. So that the words quoted out of the Prophet directly, are onely these:

Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τρία χεῖλα ἀργύρια, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἄζρόν τῷ κεραμέως, καὶ οὐ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος.

But first there are no such words in *Jeremy*; that which sounds like them is in *Zachary*.

Secondly, the Hebrew in *Zachary*, and the LXX. agreeing with it, have something which *S. Matthew* hath not, and *S. Matthew* again something which neither of them have.

Hebr.

Hebr.

LXX.

וְאֵלֶּכֶם בְּיָמֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
וְאֵלֶּכֶם בְּיָמֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
וְאֵלֶּכֶם בְּיָמֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
וְאֵלֶּכֶם בְּיָמֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ

Καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ τριάκοντα ἀργύ-
ριας, καὶ ἐπέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄ-
κον Κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνόπηριον.

וְאֵלֶּכֶם *

Matth.

Καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ
εἰς τὸ ἄχρον τῷ κεραμέως, καὶ δοὺ συνέταξέ μοι Κύριος.

Here the Hebrew hath יְהוֹשֻׁעַ; the LXX, οὐκός.
Κυρίου, which S. Matthew hath not.

On the other side, S. Matthew hath καὶ δοὺ συνέταξέ
μοι Κύριος, which neither Hebrew nor LXX have:
Besides, the Seventies Greek here differs almost
every word from S. Matthews.

*This difficult piece may, I think, be made easie
after the manner following.*

First, it may seem the Evangelist would informe
us, that those latter chapters ascribed to *Zechary*,
(viz. the 9, 10, 11. &c.) are indeed the Prophecies
of *Jeremy*, and that the *Jews* had not rightly attri-
buted them. Certainly, if a man weighs the Con-
tents of some of them, they should in likelihood be
of an elder date than the time of *Zachary*; namely,
before the captivity: For the subjects of some of
them were scarce in being after that time. And the
Chapter out of which S. Matthew quotes, may seem
to have somewhat much unsutable with *Zacharies*
time; as a Prophecy of the destruction of the Tem-
ple, then when he was to encourage them to build
it; and how doth the sixth verse of that Chapter
suit with his time? There is no Scripture saith they
are

See also
cap. 5. 11.

three differences; questionlesse, from the hand of the Scribe; as

	2 Reg. 20.	Esay 39.	
Ver. 12.	בְּרִאדֹן בְּלִאָן	בְּרִאדֹן בְּלִאָן	Ver. 1.
13.	וּשְׁמֵךְ	וּשְׁמֵךְ	2.
12.	חֲזָקִיהוּ	וְיָחִי	3.

In the rest is no title difference through-out.

If it be apparent one letter is changed for another here, why may it not be in other places?

I durst shew no such conceits as these, but to so great an Antiquary as your Lordship, to whom the possibility of corruption by writing is so well known, or rather the impossibility of the contrary: Who knows what time will discover, *cum Elias venerit*?

Mr. Mede's Letter to Dr. Twisse, setting down more speciall testimonies about the kingdome of Christ.

S I R,

TO those other Testimonies (formerly sent) about the kingdome of Christ; and of the Saints of the most High, I shall offer these following to your consideration.

I.

That great Councell of *Nice*, called by *Constantine* the Great, besides their definition of Faith and Canons Ecclesiasticall, set forth certain Διατυπώσεις Εκκλησιαστικαι, that is, *Forms of Ecclesiasticall Doctrine*, according to which all Teachers in the Church were to frame their discourse, and direct their opinions. Some of these Διατυπώσεις, or *Formulae doctrinae Ecclesiasticae*, are recorded by *Gelasius Cyzicenus*

Concil. Nic. 1.

mus, in his *Historia Actorum Concilii Niceni*. Amongst these there is this *Formula* for the Doctrine of the state of the Resurrection.

* Minutior
i. valior
sem imper-
fection.

*Simile quid
vid. apud
Iren. l. 5.*

c.36.

² Cap. 7.18.

^b Psal. 27.

13.

^c Mar. 5.5.

^d Esa. 26.6.

[illegible]

Minutior (i.e. vilior seu imperfectior) factus est Mundus propter præcognitionem. Præviderat enim Deus peccaturum esse hominem. Idcirco novos cœlos & novam terram exspectamus, juxta Sacras literas, quando illuxerit Apparitio & Regnum Magni Dei & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Et tunc, ut ait Daniel, accipiens regnum Sancti Altissimi: Et erit terra pura, sancta; terra viventium, & non mortuorum; (Quam oculis fidei prævidens David, clamat, Credo videre bona Domini in terrâ viventium) terra mansuetorum & humilium. Beati enim (inquit) mites, quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram. Et Propheta, & calcabunt ipsam (ait) pedes mansuetorum & humilium.

1. Judge by this (notwithstanding 50. yeers opposition) how powerfull the *Chiliafticall* party yet was at the time of that Councell. By some of whom if this *Formula* were not framed and composd, yet was

was it thus moderated as you see, that both parties might accept it, *Salvâ cuique interpretatione suâ*, as being delivered in the Terms and Language of Scripture.

2. Judge secondly, whether in my Explication of the *Millennium*, I have not kept within the compasse of this *Ἀντίπρωτος*, and not swerved one jot therefrom.

II.

What do you think the Authour of the Catechisme set forth in K. Edward's time (and by him authorized 10. May in the last yeer of his reign) meant, when he explicates the two first Petitions of the Lords Prayer in this manner? The Dialogue is between *Magister* and *Auditor*.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum.

M. Quomodo hoc fit?

A. Dicam: Tum demum hoc fit, cum omisiss illis omnibus qui nomen Deorum sortiuntur, sive in cælo, sive in terrâ, sive in templis variis figuris & imaginibus adorentur, solum hunc nostrum Patrem agnoscamus, & precemur verum Deum & filium ejus Jesum Christum quem ipse misit, & eum solum cum vitæ integritate & innocentia, puris & infucatis precibus sollicitemus.

M. Rectè quidem dixisti. Perge quæso.

*A. Secundo loco petimus, ut Adveniat Regnum ejus: Adhuc enim non videmus res omnes Christo esse subjectas: non videmus ut lapis de monte abscissus sit sine opere humano, qui contrivit & in nihilum redegit statuam descriptam à Daniele: Ut petra sola, qui est Christus, occupet & obtineat totius mundi imperium à Patre concessum. Adhuc non est occisus Antichristus, quò
fit,*

vationem rerum omnium appellat. Sic loquitur Apostolus Petrus 2. ep. cap. 3. Nos cœlos novos & terram novam exspectamus, juxta promissionem Dei, in quibus justitia inhabitat. Videtur autem rationi consentaneum, ut corruptio, mutabilitas & peccatum (quibus subicitur totus mundus) aliquando cessarent. Quâ verò tandem viâ aut quibus circumstantiarum rationibus ista fient, cupio abs te audire?

Aud. Dicam, ut possum, eodem Apostolo teste: Cœli procellæ in morem transibunt, elementa æstuantia solventur, terræque & quæ in eâ sunt opera, exurentur. Quasi diceret, Mundus (uti in auro fieri videmus) totus igne repurgabitur, atque ad ultimam suam perfectionem reducetur, quem minor ille mundus, nimirum homo, imitatus, à corruptione itidem & mutatione liberabitur. Itaque hominis causâ (in cujus gratiam major hic mundus creabatur primum) renovatus tandem, faciem induet multo cùm jucundiozem, tum pulchriorem.

M. Deinde autem quid superest?

Aud. Ultimum & generale Judicium. Veniet namq; Christus, ad cujus vocem mortui omnes resurgent, & animâ & corpore integri, atque in throno majestatis suæ residentem videbit totus mundus: post excussione[m] autem conscientia[e] cujusque, extrema sententia pronuntiabitur. Tunc temporis filii Dei perfectè possidebunt regnum illud immortalitatis & æternæ vitæ, quod illis præparatum fuit ante jacta fundamenta mundi, & regnabunt cum Christo in æternum. Impii verò qui non crediderunt, abjiciemur in ignem æternum, destinatum diabolo & angelis ejus.

I send you this passage, as I did the former, that you might admire with me, what this Authour meant, whether such expressions could fall from him by meer chance, or whether they argue not some further notion in this mystery, then was common and ordinary, though those to whom the review and approbation of the Book was committed, were not capable to observe it.

J. M.

Dr. Twisse his fourth Letter to Mr. Mede,
touching some obscure passages
in Dan. 11.

Worthy SIR, and my dear Friend,

THese are onely to give you to understand, that your Packet is arrived safely in my hands; your Letters, your Manuscripts, two larger upon 1 Tim. 4. and the other of ὁσεοι κατεοι; and a third lesse. Time will not suffer me to expresse the content I take in them; the satisfaction you give me in your Letters: I am taken with the meditation of the slavery of the creature, ever since the fall of Adam, in bondage to them that are slaves to sin; and what that bespeaks of better times both for the creature, and for us; the passages of the form of Doctrine prescribed by the Councell of Nice; the Catechisme in King Edwards dayes, and the rest. And like enough the land of Canaan shall have preeminence above all the rest when it comes to be the throne of Christs Kingdom, like as it was the glory of all lands when the children of Israel were brought to inherit it.

Your

Your doctrine of Dæmons, (whereof I have tasted, even to the answer of the second objection; why invocation of Saints should be made choyce of to set out Antichrist thereby, as a principall character of him?) doth so affect me, that withall considering these degenerate times, I could heartily wish, you would give way to the printing of it. You know what Spalatensis mentioneth of one of his Prebends, that should professe, if he were sure Angels heard him, he would use that Collect, *Angele Dei, qui custodes mei, &c.* and who it is that taketh it upon him to have been the man meant, and justifies it. When I read your discourse of that, Thou shalt have no other Gods before my face; it makes me willing to know what you think of *Genuflexio versus Altare*, which now growes rise, and begins to challenge subscription thereto, as licita; like as *genuflexio* at the name of *Jesus*, as *pia ceremonia*; and where we shall end I know not. I cannot but take notice, as you wish me, of the vile depravation of the opinion of the Ancients concerning Millennium. For all these I cannot sufficiently give you thanks, and must study how to expresse my thankfulness. Mr. S. is a man of very good parts, but withall I doubt he hath his vanities, as well as other men; for I cannot believe but that Dr. L. related unto me the truth of what he heard.

SIR, Your love and your worth makes me zealous of your name, and so shall I ever be. And I willingly professe, I never expected so rationall discourses in the explanation of passages so mysterious: We are commonly taken with pretty fictions and imaginations, the ground whereof when we come to examine, we finde no solidity to fasten on. O that my desires were worthy to be conside-

[O o 2]

red

red by you, that you would be pleased in your private studies to goe on to perfect that you have begun upon the Revelation! To my thinking by considering your Specimina thereon, the three next Chapters, 15, 16, 17. would be soon perfected. The touch you give me about repairing of the Temple in Ezekiel, doth exceedingly content me, though I am perswaded you have some notions, generall at least, concerning many passages therein.

I am ashamed to urge you unto that, which I doe extremely desire, that you would afford me your interpretation of the last verses of the eleventh of Daniel, concerning the fourth kingdome; for I am confident by that you make of the first of them, you have in like manner considered it throughout; and your fetching the matter off from Epiphanes and the Greek; to the fourth kingdome, gives great light to the whole. Thus over shoes, over boots; I am run so far in your debt, and withall I am so much in love with it, that I care not how deep I plunge my selfe thereinto; I nothing doubt but the Lord will perfect the good work he hath begun in you, and by you, to whose gracious direction I commend all your ways, and shall ever rest

Newbury May 5.
1634.

Your in all due respects
infinitely obliged,

Will. Twisse.

Mr.

Quomodo interpungendum, vertendūque censue-
rim Com. 35. & 36. cap. 11. *Danielis*, ut Angeli
Prophetantis ibi loci Transitiō à Regno ter-
tio ad quartum (puta *Romanum*) evidenter
cerni, internosciq; possit. Cui additur
& sequentium aliquot commatum
versio, unā cum applicatione
parallela.

35. Et ex intelligenti-
bus corrueunt multi, ad con-
flandum eos & mundan-
dum, usque ad tempus finis.
(finem puta Regni Græ-
canici.)

cæ censum venit. Confer.

36. QUONIAM
adhuc ad tempus statu-
tum, faciet pro libitu suo
Transi- * REX, seque
tio. Si- extollet & magni-
mile ex- emplum
Soph Pa- sicabit super om-
suk malè nem † Deum.

posita, v. Gen. 13. 17. & alibi.

* ἡ Ἀρχὴ hoc loco non est ἀνα-
πολιτικός, sed ut alibi nunquam
solet, tantum certum & eximium
quid designat. Sic Elai. 7. 14.
הַעֲלִמָה.

cap. 8. 4. de Imperio Græco, cap. 11. 3.

† Tropo Prophetico Dii subigi & domari dicun-
tur, cum subiguntur Gentes & Urbes quibus præef-

[O o 3]

Clausula persecutionis
Epiphaniae; quacum u-
tiq; Regnū Græcanicum,
juxta rationes Sp. S. fini-
isse censetur, neque ultra
in * *Tetrarchias* Propheti-

v. 23. c. 8. בְּאַרְבַּע מְלָכוֹת
Characterismus Reg-
ni quarti seu Romani à
debellatā Macedoniā ad
exitum *Augusti*, Gentes
Gentiūque Deos, quasi
æstu quodam & torrente
fortunæ sibi subjugan-
tis. Vide amabò *Florum*
l. 2. c. 7. *Paterc.* l. 1. c. 6.
item 1 *Macc.* c. 8. Phrasin
autem similem de sur-
gente Monarchia Perf.

* i. Qua-
sermonia
regnorum.

se

se putabantur, (vide *Esa.* 46. 2. *Fer.* 50. 2. & 51. 44. item c. 48. 7.) Quemadmodum & vice versa (quod magis mireris) Dii servire (politice scilicet) qui colla gentibus, quorum Dii fuerint, submittere coacti sunt; ut *Dem.* 4. 28. cum locis parallelis, c. 28. v. 36. 64. *Fer.* 16. 13. quibuscum compone, 1 *Sam.* 16. 19. In quæ omnia vide *Chaldaem Paraph.* Hic tantum operæ pretium erit expendere morem Romanis solennem, cum Urbes obsiderent, Deos Deorum illorum præsidēs carmine evocandi, inque suas partes, hostium tutelâ abjectâ, adigendi. Cujus formulam vide apud *Macrob.* 1. 3. *Saturnal.* c. 8.

Quinetiam contra Deum Deorum edicet stupenda, proficietque donec consummata fuerit indignatio: temporis quippe decisio facta est.

tem, sub *Pontio Pilato* Præsīde, cruci affixit, cultoresque ejus per annos fermè CCC. diris persecutionibus & laniens exercuit.

37. Deinde ad Deos Majorum suorum non attendet, neque ad desiderium mulierum: imò ad nullum Numen animam advertet, sed supra omne sese magnificabit.

rum cœlibatus contra prisca Romanorum instituta, conjugio anteferri, & privilegiis gaudere cœpit, [vid. *Sozomen.* 1. 1. c. 9. *Enseb. de Vit. Constant.* lib. 4. c. 26.] Sed & veri istius & unius Dei cultui, cui, sacris Chri-

Characterismus ejusdem ab exitu *Augusti* ad abrogatum Gentilismum: quo temporis intervallo Christum Deum Deorum in carnē apparen-

tem, sub *Pontio Pilato* Præsīde, cruci affixit, cultoresque ejus per annos fermè CCC. diris persecutionibus & laniens exercuit.

Characterismus ejusdem Rei Romanæ post abdicatam per *Constantinum M.* ejusque successoris Religionem Majorem, & sacra Christiana admīssa: Ex qua nimirum cœlibatus contra prisca Romanorum instituta, conjugio anteferri, & privilegiis gaudere cœpit, [vid. *Sozomen.* 1. 1. c. 9. *Enseb. de Vit. Constant.* lib. 4. c. 26.] Sed & veri istius & unius Dei cultui, cui, sacris Chri-

stianis

stianis susceptis in Baptismo sese addixerant, novi Deastri & Idola, non modo in eodem Templo, quin & ad unum idémque Altare colendi, insigni cum contumelia superinducti.

38. Nam * una cum
* similem Deo [מַהֲזִיזִים] Ma-
præfixi hu- huzzimos in sede
sum habes ipsius honorabit;
Ezra 1.5. cum Deo, inquam,
Lev. 16.21 quem non agno-
Num. 9.15 quem non agno-
32.3, 33.2 verunt Majores
sui, honorabit [eisdem]
auro & argento, & lapi-
dibus pretiosis, & rebus
desiderabilibus.

ment. meas ad 6. Tub. p. 114, 115.] Significationi
quam dico firmandæ facit, quod Lxx. in Psalmis
מַהֲזִיזִים quinquies ὑπερασπιστὴν vertunt, & vulgatus to-
ties Protectorem. Videtis loca.

39. Faciétque munitio-
nes Mahuzzimorum com-
munes DEIPERE.
GRINI, quem ag-
noscendo honore cumulatu-
* Vel eosq; rus, * eisque domi-
Mahuzzi- minari faciet in
mos nimi- multos, terrámque
rum. partiétur in mercedem.

lent (ut nimirum idem sit cum eo quod præcessit
Mahuzzimos in sede ipsius (hoc est Dei, quem Majo-
res ejus non agnoverant) honorabit:) Vel fortè si-
mulacra sic vocat; quibus ceu loricis & cataphra-

Hi enim sunt, quos
hæc Sp. S. Mahuzzimos
nuncupat, i. Propugna-
tores, sive tutelaria Nu-
mina; cujusmodi sancto-
rum defunctorum & An-
gelorum titulis venera-
tur Romanus, tanquam
Patronos, protectores, &
Mediatores inter Deum
& homines [vide Com-

Vel Tempia Mahuz-
zimorum intelligit, in
commune Deo (quem
abdicata Majorum religi-
one asciverat) & Mahuz-
zimis dedicanda, juxta
formulam Deo & Sancto
N. vel N. quorum & re-
liquiæ ibi collocari so-
lent (ut nimirum idem sit cum eo quod præcessit
Mahuzzimos in sede ipsius (hoc est Dei, quem Majo-
res ejus non agnoverant) honorabit:) Vel fortè si-
mulacra sic vocat; quibus ceu loricis & cataphra-

etis induta visibiliter sistuntur numina. Talibus scil. Romanus, quibus Deastros & Mahuzzimos suos, etiam Deum ipsum Israelis zeloten, quem sibi colendum susceperat, repræsentaret similitudinibus. Porro hæc Mahuzzimorum suorum Tempia, vel simulacra, vel ipsos, si mavis, Mahuzzimos, dominari faciet in multos terramque iisdem partietur in patrimonium & ditionem. Nota Res est.

40. *In tempore autem finis bello cum impetet Rex Austri: irruetque in eum ut turbo Rex Aquilonis, curribus equitibusque & classibus amplis; ingressusque in regiones, mundabit, & transibit.*

Cæterum tam nefariæ commixtionis, inque Deum consortii, similitudinisque impatientem, pœnas primò dabit Saracenis ex Austro provincias ejus incursum, partemque plurimam abrepturis. Deinde Turcis Genti Aquilonari Saracenos quidem primum perituris: sed illorum Imperio everso adeò fines ejusdem Romanos versus supergressuris; ut cladem longè omnium quæ unquam fuere, gravissimam, latissimamque Orbi Romano sint illaturi; nec antequam finalis ejusdem interitus jam præ foribus instet auferendam.

41. *Et intrabit in Terram d. coris (i. in terram Sanctam) &c.*

Nota hîc tempus finis quo mala ista ab Austro & Aquilone Romano incubitura prædicuntur, esse novissimam Rei Romanæ periodum, alibi Temporis, temporum & dimidii temporis curriculo definitam; quibus utique Rex iste tantum nefas in Deum Christianorum, cujus cultum paulo antè susceperat, auderet.

Porro quod momentum Prophetiæ huic interpretan-

tandæ maximum confert, nollem Lectoris observationem fugiat, nimirum, Quemadmodum Judæis, quibus unicus Deus verus patrius erat, Dii Nationum peregrini audiant: ita contrà Romanis falſorum Numinum inde à Gentis primordiis cultoribus, eundem Deum verum peregrinum fuiſſe, & quidem tantum non unicum & ſolum: quandoquidem, ut *Leo Magnus* Serm. 1. in Natal. Petri & Pauli; *Roma cum penè omnibus dominaretur Gentibus, omnium Gentium ſerviebat erroribus: & magnam ſibi videbatur ſumpſiſſe religionem, quia nullam reſpuebat falſitatem.* Ab hac mente eſt illud Philoſophorum, *Panlo* Chriſtum Athenis Evangelizante, *Videtur*, inquit, peregrinorum Deorum annunciator eſſe. Eodẽmque ſpe ctavit Altaris ibidem inſcriptio ab Apoſtolo allegata, Θεῶ ἀγνώτω ἢ Ζέω. Quid quod, *Licinius* decretorium illud prælium cum *Constantino* initurus, eidem diſertè exprobrat, quòd Patriis inſtitutis violatis, Ζέον πῶτα Θεὸν ſibi colendum aſciviſſet; ſeipſum contrà cum exercitu, Θεοῦ παλίου ἢ ἐκ προγόνων τῶν ἀνέκτασεν παρειλήρασι σίβειν, venerari. Vide orationem *Licinii* ad milites apud *Eusebium* lib. 2. c. 5. de vita *Constantini*, quam ſe accepiſſe ait ab iis qui audiverant.

Postremò & illud addo; *Arabie* *Petræe* incolas, nunquam, vel in hunc uſque diem, à *Turca* penitus ſub jugum miſſos: imò nonnullis eorum annuum quoddam tributum perſolvere perhibetur, ne peregrinatorum turmas, illac ultrò citròque commeantes, latrociniis ſuis infeſtent. Ex quo illud *Angeli*, v. 41. intelligas,

intelligas, de Edomæis, Moabitis, & medietate filiorum Ammon Regis Aquilonis manum evasuris.

Cætera quæ sequuntur, adhuc implenda restant, idèoque non temerè interpretanda.

J. M.

*Short Explications of some passages in Daniel 11.
ver. 40 41. to the end of the chap. As also of
some passages in chap. 12.*

* See the
Apostasie
of latter
times, p. 71.

Ver. **A**nd at the time of the end בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּמִים [that is, 40. of the ὕστεροι καιροὶ the * latter times, or the times of the Roman kingdome] shall the king of the South (that is, the Saracen) push at him; and the king of the North (that is, the Turk) shall come against him like a whirlwinde, &c. Both the Saracen & Turk should plunder the Roman Empire within these ὕστεροι καιροὶ the latter times thereof: Within this intercalado of time happened the invasions both of Saracen and Turk, the former about Anno Dom. 630. the latter Anno 1300. or before. See Comment. Apocal. ad Tub. 5. & 6.

Ver. 41. He shall enter also into the glorious land (that is, Palestine for אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן and אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל are constantly in this Book a description of Palestine or the Holy Land; see chap. 8. ver. 9. and of this chap. v. 16. 45.) and many shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hands, Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon, viz. the Inhabitants of Arabia Petraea, which were never yet Provincials of the Turkish Empire.

Ver.

Ver. 42. He (*viz.* the Turk) shall stretch forth his hands also upon the Countries (*viz.* of those parts) and the land of Egypt shall not escape, though it should hold out long under the Mamalukes, even till the year 1517.

Ver. 43. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and all the precious things of Egypt: and the Lybians and the Cushites. That is, the neighbouring nations, whether of Africk or Lybia, as in those of Algiers, &c. or of the Arabians in Scripture called *Cushim*, these shall be at his steps; that is, at his devotion.

Ver. 44. But tidings out of the East, and out of the North, shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make many away. And to that purpose,

Ver. 45. He shall plant the Tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious mountain of holiness. As *מִצְרַיִם* and *מִצְרָיִם* so here *קִדְשׁ צְבִי* refer to the Holy Land. The tidings from the East and North may be that of the return of Judah and Israel from those quarters; for Judah was carried captive at the first into the East, and Israel by the Assyrian into the North (namely, in respect of the Holy Land) and in those parts the greatest number of each are dispersed at this day. Of the reduction of Israel from the North, see the Prophecies Jer. 16. ver. 14, 15. and chap. 23. 8. also chap. 31. 8.

Or if those tidings from the north may be some other thing, yet that from the East, I may have some warrant to apply to the Jews return, from that of the sixth Vial in the Apocalyps, where the waters of the

the great River *Euphrates* are dried up, to prepare the way of the *kings of the East*. So that it is true which you guesse, that I encline to apply the *King of the North's* going forth (upon the *tidings from the East and the North*) in a fury to destroy, and to that purpose to plant the *Tabernacles of his palace in the glorious mountain of holinesse*, to the *Jews* return, and the expedition of *Gog and Magog* into the *Holy Land*. If you can digest the application of the *Kings of the South and North* to the *Saracen and Turk*, I will then desire you to consider, that to the notation of the time [when] viz. בְּעֵת קֵץ at the time of the end; that is, of the ὕστεροι καιροί, you may refer that question of *Daniel* in chap. 12. 6. טַרְמְחֵי קֵץ הַפְּלִאוֹת How long shall this end of wonderfull things be? which the Angel answers ver. 7. for a time times and an half, referring to his former vision thereof, chap. 7. 25.

Of the same latter times he asketh yet again, v. 8. incertus & mirabundus, אֲרֵי מָה אֲחֵרִית אֵלֶּה Lord! what are these ὕστεροι καιροί, latter times, which our Translation turns but untowardly. The next in *Daniel* is all dark. But it may seem the Angel tells the Prophet in those last numbers [1290, 1335. in ver. 11, 12.] when, and how long it should be, before this mysterie of the ὕστεροι καιροί, latter times, should be understood: For so he intimates both in ver. 4. Shut up the words, and seal the book, untill the time of the End; and again, ver. 9. the words are closed up, and sealed till the time of the End——And then, none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand, ver. 10. Now you know, the mysterie of *Antichrist*, whereon the knowledge of these ὕστεροι καιροί

ποι

for *latter times* wholly depends, was not discovered till a good part of them were run out; what if those numbers, *ver. 11, 12.* point out that time, counting from the profanation by *Epiphanes*? This which I intimate was an old notion; which if it be not satisfying, yet can I not as yet meet with another better grounded.

F. M.

Dr. *Twisse* his fifth Letter to Mr. *Mede*, approving his conjectures touching *Gog* and *Magog*.

Good Mr. *Mede*,

Touching your Letters, I professe a truth, I was so far from taking any the least offence, that I heard not from you so soon, that (beleeve it Sir) I blam'd my self for making so bold with you, still putting you upon new matters, though when a vein is once found of gold or silver, it makes a man hungry and greedy to pursue it; and the kingdome of the Saints goes beyond all Mines and Treasures. Oh how have you blessed me, and still continue to blesse me with your Papers! I protest unto you, your Letters, your Conjectures, your Meditations, are the greatest jewels my studie contains. I approve your Reasons for not proceeding to publish any more at this present; but as Mariners provide against a storm, so may we for a calm. I have heretofore observed, how after civil wars in Christendome, many excellent things came forth, which were studied in the time of trouble: Did not Cicero the like in times of like condition? I

am

See Master
Mede's
conjecture
of Gog and
Magog,
formerly
printed.

am glad your thoughts reflect (and I hope ever and anon) on the same subject, that your friends in private may enjoy the benefit of your labours and talents. In the matter of Gog and Magog, you have acquainted me with new mysteries that I never thought of. Yet to one who first embraceth your way (so I call it, because God hath made you his Minister to bring it to light; but I account it the way of truth, and so carried by you, that in no particular I finde just cause of exception) concerning Regnum Sanctorum, such light you bring to justify your conjecture, that he will be driven to confesse, that you deliver nothing without faire ground, faire probability, and that in such a degree, that any other way seems to me, for the present, nothing capable of the like. Your grounds are very faire and cleare to every one, but never (I think) taken into consideration by any before your self, to that end and purpose whereunto you direct them. You cannot easily conceive what content you give me herein, and what refreshing it is to my spirit. First, I perceive that expedition of Gog against the Land of Israel, is reckoned by you after their calling unto Christ, and thereupon possessing themselves of the Holy Land, the Prophecies of the old Testament leading thereunto; though Jews in former ages have joyned themselves with the Christian Churches of the same Countrey, amongst whom they conversed. Secondly, also that now you are resolved concerning the place of New Jerusalem; namely, the land of Fury. Thirdly, I guesse also, you conceive the destruction of Gog, and of Antichrist, shall be at once by the coming of Christ. Fourthly, and that the restoring of the Temple in the latter end of Ezechiel, following upon the destruction of Gog, is a type of New Jerusalem.

rusalem. Fifthly, and that Gog is the Turk. I or which light that you have given me in all these particulars, I most heartily thank you.

Now I beseech you, let me know, what your opinion is of our English Plantations in the new world. Heretofore I have wondered in my thoughts at the providence of God concerning that world, not discovered till this old world of ours is almost at an end; and then no footsteps found of the knowledge of the true God, much lesse of Christ, and then considering our English Plantations of late, and the opinion of many grave Divines, concerning the Gospels fleeting Westward; sometimes I have had such thoughts, Why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem? But you have handsomely and fully clear'd me from such odd conceits. But what I pray? shall our English there degenerate and joyne themselves with Gog and Magog? We have heard lately divers wayes, that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives. And the very week after I received your last Letter, I saw a Letter written from New England, discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there; and seems to prefer the confession of Gods truth in any condition here in old England, rather then run over to enjoy their liberty there; yea, and that the Gospel is like to be more deare in New England then in Old. And lastly, unlesse they be exceeding carefull, and God wonderfully mercifull, they are like to lose that life and zeale for God and his Truth in New England, which they enjoyed in Old; as whereof they have already wofull experience, and many there feel it to their smart.

In the eleventh of Daniel, that which you apply unto the Turk, I had thought belonged to Antichrist; and th?

the last verse of planting his Tabernacles between the Seas seems to me fairly to set forth Rome and the throne of the Beast unto us : And as touching the tidings from the East and North, that troublesome body, if it be the Turk that is troubled, have you not some propension to apply it to the Jews, after their conversion to Christ ? Thus I make that saying good, Garrit amor & benevolentia ; and one thing more, a desire to sound you. But this beginning of the week hath been a very busie time with me ; and I must make haste, desiring you may understand with the first, the safe landing of your precious Commodities. I commend me heartily unto your love, which I prize more then I can expresse, I shall rest

*Newbury, March 2.
1634.*

*Yours ever to love and
honour you,*

W. Twisse.

Postscript.

I had almost forgotten a speciall Argument against Regnum Sanctorum, whereof I should crave the solution ; which is this ; All the Saints departing this life are with the Lord Christ, 2 Cor. 5.8. if all at his coming be not brought with him, they shall be divided from Christ, and consequently in worse condition then they were before. Though he bring all with him, yet in that kingdome there may be place for different degrees of glory ; and that 1 Cor. 15. Every one in his own order, is applied there onely to Christ, and them that are Christs.

Mr.

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Dr. Twisse his fifth Letter,
touching the first Gentile Inhabitants, and
the late Christian Plantations in
America.*

SIR,

Concerning our Plantations in the *American* world, I wish them as well as any body; though I differ from them far, both in other things, and in the grounds they go upon. And though there be but little hope of the generall conversion of those Natives in any considerable part of that Continent; yet I suppose it may be a work pleasing to Almighty God and our blessed Saviour, to *affront* the Devil with the sound of the Gospel and Crosse of Christ, in those places where he had thought to have reigned securely, and out of the dinne thereof. And though we make no Christians there, yet to bring some thither to disturbe and vex him, where he reigned without check.

For that I may reveal my conceit further, though perhaps I cannot prove it, yet I think thus: That those Countries were first inhabited since our Saviour and his Apostles times, and not before; yea, perhaps some ages after: there being no signs or footsteps found amongst them, or any Monuments of older habitation, as there is with us:

That the Devil being impatient of the sound of the Gospel, and Crosse of Christ, in every part of this old world, so that he could in no place be quiet for it; and foreseeing that he was like at length to lose all here; he thought to provide himself of a

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seed,

* The Terra Australis yet incognita might in part be peopled through that try of Islands lying between it and Cambogia in the Orientall Sea. But of that Continent we know nothing, whether it be fully inhabited or not.

seed, over which he might reign securely, and in a place, *ubi nec Pelopidarum facta neque nomen audiret*. That accordingly he drew a Colony out of some of those barbarous Nations dwelling upon the Northern Ocean (whither the sound of Christ had not yet come) and promising them by some Oracle to shew them a Country far better then their owne (which he might soon do) pleasant and large, where never man yet inhabited; he conducted them over those * desert Lands and Islands (which are many in that sea) by the way of the North into *America*; which none would ever have gone, had they not first been assured there was a passage that way into a more desirable Countrey. Namely, as when the world apostatized from the Worship of the true God, God called *Abraham* out of *Chaldee* into the Land of *Canaan*, of him to raise him a Seed to preserve a light unto his Name: so the Devil, when he saw the world apostatizing from him, laid the foundations of a new kingdome, by deducting this Colony from the North into *America*, where they have increased since into an innumerable multitude. And where did the devil ever reigne more *absolutely*, and without controule, since mankind fell first under his clutches? And here it is to be noted, that the story of the *Mexican* kingdom (which was not founded above 400. yeers before ours came thither) relates out of their own memorials and traditions, that they came to that place from the North; whence their God *Vitziliputzli* led them, going in an Ark before them: and after divers yeers travell, and many stations (like enough after some generations) they

they came to the place, which the signe he had given them at their first setting forth, pointed out; where they were to finish their travels, build themselves a City, and their God a Temple; which is the place where *Mexico* was built. Now if the devil were Gods ape in this, why might he not be likewise in bringing the first colony of men into that world out of ours? namely, by Oracle, as God did *Abraham* out of *Chaldee*, whereto I before resembled it.

But see the hand of Divine Providence. When the off-spring of these *Runnagates* from the sound of Christs Gospel, had now replenisht that other world, and began to flourish in those two Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico*, Christ our Lord sends his Masters the *Spaniards* to hunt them out, and worry them. Which they did in so hideous a manner, as the like thereunto scarce ever was done since the Sons of *Noah* came out of the *Ark*. What an affront to the devil was this, where he had thought to have reigned securely, and been for ever concealed from the knowledge of the followers of Christ?

Yet the devil perhaps is lesse grieved for the losse of his servants by the destroying of them, then he would be to lose them by the saving of them; by which latter way, I doubt the *Spaniards* have despoyled him but of a few. What then if Christ our Lord will give him his second affront with better Christians, which may be more grievous to him then the former? And if Christ shall set him up a light in this manner, to dazle and torment the devil at his own home, I hope they (*viz. the Americans*) shall not so far degenerate (not all of them) as to

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come

come into that Army of *Gog* and *Magog* against the kingdome of Christ, but be translated thither before the Devill be loosed, if not presently after his tying up: And whence should these nations get notice of the glorious happines of our world, if not by some Christians that had lived among them?

Thus have I told you out of my fancy of the Inhabitants of that world, which though it be built upon meer conjectures, and not upon firm grounds, yet may have so much use as to shew a possibility of answering such scruples, as are wont to run in mens heads concerning them: which consideration is not alwayes to be despised.

J. M.

Dr. *Twisse* his sixth Letter to Mr. *Mede*, approving his opinion touching the first peopling of *America*, and his proof of the Resurrection, from *Exod. 3. 6. I am the God of Abraham, &c.*

Good SIR,

HOW exceedingly am I beholden unto you; first, for your pains in affording me so liberall letters, especially considering with what recreation and delight I read them: but above all for your love in communicating your thoughts; and I dare professe though I have not seen your face (which I heartily desire at mine house; but I will think of preventing that suit, and first take a time to visit your selfe at Cambridge) yet you cannot communicate them to one that holds them more dear. *Alas, had it not been*

been for your help, I had been to this day a stranger in the mystery of God; while all my thoughts are employed in making up the breach, which these degenerate times have caused in the mystery of Gods grace. But I have a desire to receive information; and God hath made me capable in some measure to discern the strength of rationall discourse, and the congruity of conclusions with their premises in any argument, and to professe a truth; I did not think the mysteries of Gods providence set down as they are in obscure Prophecies, had been capable of such evidence of illustration as God hath enabled you to bring thereunto, before the event doth manifest them.

I went a little too farre in my last, onely that I might not be too immodest to create new troubles unto you, by comparing your Book on the Revelation, I guesse the destruction of Gog, is before the ruine of Antichrist, though perhaps not long; and thereupon will follow that great commotion, Revel. 19. 19. and as for the destruction of the Temple after Gog in Ezechiel, whether you think it to have any reference to new Jerusalem, I know not.

As for your former mystery concerning Gog; I finde it evident, that if Lactantius were now alive, in all likelihood, he would goe hand and foot into your opinion. He is clear for the reservation of some Gentes untouched of the fire at Christs coming: This lately I met withall, not in Lactantius himselfe, but in Sixtus Senensis.

As for the peopling of the new world, I finde more in this letter of yours, then formerly I have been acquainted with: your conceit thereabouts, if I have any judgement, is grave and ponderous; and the particular you touch upon of Satans wisdom imitating the wisdom of

God, doth affect me with admiration. And for matter of fact, the grounds you goe upon, for ought I see, are as good as the world can afford. I think it a farre safer course to entertain your apprehensions of Gods providence, concerning our better plantations in those parts, then the vain prognostications of those who think that likeliest which pleaseth them best; were it not for Christians that live amongst them, they could neither have notice of the glory of new Jerusalem, nor ever in all likelyhood attain either to the Art of Ship-building and Navigation, or Art military, to fit them for such an expedition as you speak of; And it may serve as a chamber to hide many of Gods children, till the indignation passe over, which hastens upon us more and more. Call that which you write Fancies, as your modesty suggests, I cannot but entertain them as sage conceits.

As for the place alledged by our Saviour to prove the Resurrection, God is not the God of the dead but of the living; long agoe my brains were exercised to make it good; which I did in a Philosophical way; from the immortality of souls concluding the Resurrection of their bodies, from that Philosophicall Maxim, Nihil violentum perpetuum: and consequently the dividing of the Soul from the Body not to continue for ever. I then thought not of the mystery of God concerning the first Resurrection, and that of the just only. And albeit some thoughts doe arise against your way therein, upon consideration that glorified Bodies stand in no need of inheritaunce temporall; and undoubtedly the eating and drinking of Saints in their Resurrection, shall be rather to maintain a familiar communion with the nations that escape, who are to walk in their light, then to supply any domesticall necessity of their

their natures; yet howsoever the land of Canaan being the place where they shall reign as Kings, and the promise of God so express to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, not to their seed onely: And albeit the state of Grace was a better inheritance then the land of Canaan, yet the state of Glory reigning with Christ better then that; this makes me highly to respect your interpretation. And you back your interpretation with learned Observations out of the Rabbines; and the good use you make of them, makes me the more in love with them; and am sorry I have not spent more time in them; and stirres me up sometimes to recreate my selfe in the Venice Bibles set forth by Buxdorsius; wherein I have been not a little refreshed with what they write of Balaams prophecie, and upon Gog in Ezechiel, and how they strein their wits upon that, And thou art he of whom I have spoken in old time; R. Solomo fetching it from Eldad and Medad, which made me smile: and Kimchi referring it to Ezechiel onely and Zachary; and upon that, Mat. 8. 11. and the like. One Mr. Wood in Lincolnshire, doth vehemently insist for your way; as I have heard from my Lo: S. To whom I have lately written pleasantly touching upon his counsels for advancing the plantations of the West, and telling him, that his Lordship little thinks that they tend to the promoting of the kingdom of Gog and Magog. For that noble Lord gives me leave to be merry with him; nothing pleaseth him more then when hee findes me free from a dejected Spirit. In his next, he gave a touch only thereupon, which was this, that surely the Americans were not Gog and Magog. In my next, I shewed him they could not be the same with Gog of the land, and Magog in Ezechiel (which was his opinion;) that Gog

[P. p 4]

coming

coming from the North; but these from the East, West, North, and South, the four corners of the world. But withall I told his Lordship, he was not as yet idoneus Auditor of this mystery; he must first be a good Proficient in an inferiour form, where is read and studied the mystery of Regnum Christi & Sanctorum, and the first Resurrection. Upon this he wrote a larger letter opposing the conceit (I touched upon) of Gog and Magog, though the Millennium of Christs Kingdome were granted: yet not a little against that also. I answered his letter punctually; but when I had done, I kept that by me, and wrote at large to him, concerning Regnum Christi, professing my desire he might not be unacquainted with the mystery of God, Rev. 10. 7. according to the true contents thereof, Revel. 11. 15. and so proceeded to shew unto him what a mystery it seemed to me at the first, and how incredible, though that Revel. 20. 4. was plain enough; but we were willing to project some reconciled meaning, because the plain sense of the words seemed incredible. When I came to understand your way, what course I took to crave leave to propose my reasons in number* ten to send unto you; these I sent to him without any answer; which yet he shall have, if he require it, not otherwise; for I do not affect to cramme any man against his appetite. I know he is much taken with Mr. Brightman.

As touching my objection; I know that I Cor. 15. Every man in his own order; is more fair for your way, then that I proposed; and to contract it to that which immediately followeth, seems to me to insatuate it; especially you having so fairly confirmed it out of Daniel and the Ancients stand with you herein; undoubtedly the enjoying of Christs God-head, is more happines then the enjoying

* See Dr. Meddus letter to Mr. Mede, with Dr. Twisse his answer to nine Queries, &c.

joying of his Man-hood; and the same joy in enjoying Christ the Lord; can he maintain in the spirits perfected: and why should it be any discomfort to me, that Christ in his Man-hood is gone to ruine Antichrist, and to reign with his Saints, and that I must stay till my turn comes to reign with him?

In one of your former letters, you told me of a Chappell-exercise you had to communicate unto me, when I returned that of Gog and Magog; which truly I had forgotten in my last to entreat; but since perusing your letters, and lighting upon it, I resolved the next time I wrote, to put you in minde of your promise; which whether it be the same you have writ of concerning Dan. 11. I know not.

— I could not neglect to write unto you with the first, to acquaint you with my receipt of yours which came to my hands, Apr. 4. and to give you many thanks for your love and pains, which I shall never requite, save with love; if that may be a requitall, as your acceptance may make it. I commend you from my heart to the Grace of God, and your studies as mine own to the divine benediction, and rest

Newbury, April 6.

1635.

Yours ever in the Lord
extremely obliged,
W. Twisse.

Postscript.

A strange Book came lately to my hands of the variation of the longitude of places on earth; by the variation of the Compasse; which was formerly supposed to be invariable. That which 54. yeers since was found to be deg. 11. 22. yeers agoe, was found to be but deg. 7. and the last yeer but deg. 4. Dr. P. my neighbour desires to be remembred to you. —

Mr.

*Mr. Mede's answer touching our Saviours Proof
of the Resurrection, from Exodus 3. 6.*

I am the God of Abraham.

BECAUSE I see you entertain so favourably my notions concerning the *Kingdom of Christ* and his appearing, I will make bold to acquaint you with another notion which drawes deeper (I think) then those you have yet heard. I doubt not but you have felt some scruple (as well as others) at our Saviours demonstration of the Resurrection in the Gospell, Mat. 22. Mar. 12. God said to *Moses* in the bush, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; Ergo, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob must one day rise again from the dead.* How doth this conclusion follow? Do not the spirit of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* yet live? God should not then be the God of the dead, though their bodies should never rise again. Therefore some *Socinians* argue from this place, that the spirits of the just lye in the *sleep of death* untill the Resurrection. Or might not the Sadduces have replied, the meaning to be, of what God had been, not of what he should be? *viz.* That he was that God who had once chosen their Fathers and made a Covenant with them: I am the God that brought *Abraham* out of *Chaldee*, who appeared to *Isaac* and *Jacob* whilest they lived, &c. But how would this then make for the Resurrection? Surely it doth. He that could not erre, said it. Let us therefore see how it may.

I say

I say therefore the words must be understood with supply of that they have reference unto; which is the *Covenant* that the Lord made with *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, in respect whereof he calls himselfe *their God*. This *Covenant* was to give unto them and to their seed the land wherein they were strangers, [Mark it] not to their seed or off-springs only, but to themselves, vide loca, To *Abraham*, Gen. 13. 15. & 15. 7. & 17. 8. To *Isaac*, Gen. 26. 3. To *Jacob*, Gen. 35. 12. To all three, Exod. 6. 4. 8. Deut. 5. 8. & 11. 21. & 30. 20, If God then make good to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, this his *Covenant*, whereby he undertook to be their God, then must they needs one day live again to inherit the promised land, which hitherto they have not done. For the God that thus covenanted with them, covenanted not to make his promise good to them dead, but living. This is the strength of the divine argument, and irrefragable; which otherwise would not inferre any such conclusion.

And that this was our *Saviours* meaning may appear, in that the Jewes at that time used from these very places thus understood, to infer the Resurrection against the Sadduces out of the Law. As it is to be seen expressly of two of them (Exod. 6. 4. Deut. 11. 21.) in the *Talmud* פרק חלק ובי in Gemara sic habetur, *Traditio Rab. Simai*; Quo loco astruit lex resurrectionem mortuorum? Nempe ubi dicitur, Atque etiam constabilis fœdus meum cum ipsis, ut dem ipsis terram Canaan. Non enim dicitur vobis, sed ipsis.

Exod. 6. 4.

Iterum rogarunt Sadducei Rabbi Gamalielē, (Præceptor fuit Pauli Apostoli) Undenam probaret Deum mor-

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Deut. 11.

21.

tuos resuscitaturum? Non quieverunt usque dum produceret ipsis istum versum, Quam terram juravit Dominus patribus vestris se daturum illis. Hinc constat legem testificari resurrectionem mortuorum.

Note therefore, that in one, two, or three of these places, it is added, *and to thy seed*, or *their seed after them*, the word *after* is not to be referred to *give* (as if it were, I will give it to thy seed *after* I have given it to thee) but to *seed* [as *thy seed after thee*, that is, *to thy posterity and their seed after them*; that is, to their posterity which should come out of their loynes.] For that the offspring is in beginning *after*, to the beginning of the Parent.

To perswade this conceit by stronger testimonies then of Rabbins, I pray compare with that which hath been said, *Heb. XI. vers. 8, 9, 10.* adding to them 13, 14, 15, 16. In the last of which verses, you need not stumble at the epithet, *ἐπουρανίου* heavenly, because it notes not onely that which is *in heaven*, but that which is *from heaven*, *de caelo*. As it is said verse 10. *they looked for a City, whose builder and maker is God.* And consider well the latter part of the 16. verse with our Saviours argument.

Compare besides, and consider that of Zachary's *Benedictus*, *Luc I. 72.* ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐμνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἀγίας αὐτοῦ, which we for fear of *Limbus patrum*, translate, *to perform the mercy promised to our Fathers*, &c. But there is no such word as *promised* in the original, Ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, is directly to *shew mercy*.

or

or kindnesse to our Fathers. For that is the Scripture phrase, *ποιοῦναι εὖ μετὰ τινός*, to shew benignity unto, or deal kindly with one. The Fathers then themselves are the object of this benignity and favour, which is to be by Christ; it is to be shewen to them. But what is this favour and mercy? The words following will tell you; — *and to remember his holy Covenant*, what was that? *To give unto them*, even to them *in their own persons*, the land wherein they were *strangers*, and that by and with that seed of theirs, wherein all the nations of the earth were to be blessed.

Adde. lastly, and consider what may be the meaning of that, *Mat. 8. 11. Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of heaven, when the children of the kingdom (i.e. the Jewes, many of them) shall be cast out into utter darknesse; &c.*

Now I have done, I am afraid I have not expressed my mind so clearly and evidently as I would, but the summe of what I would say is this.

God covenanted to give to *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, in their own persons (as well as to their seed) the land wherein they were * *strangers* (that is, the land of *Canaan*) for an inheritance; But this was not performed to them while they lived: Therefore must they one day live again, that they may be partakers of this promise, and consequently, *The Saints shall live on earth after their Resurrection.*

Vide Luc. 10. 37. for the old Testament passim. See Gen. 24. 12. 49. Judg. 1. 24.

* Mark those words well, the land of thy pilgrimage, the land whereon thy head lies; *Gen. 28. the land which thou seeest, Gen. 13. and the like. And in S. Paul the place which he should after receive for an inheritance. Heb. 11.*

J. M.

Monfieur

Moun^r. Testard his Letter to Mr. Brooks, about his translating Mr. Mede's *Clavis Apocal.* into French, and the number of the Beasts Name.

SIR,

I Have translated into French, that I might communicate it to divers friends, the Book you sent upon the Revelation, which seems to me worthy admiration, and full of comfort to those that expect the consolation of Israel. I desire earnestly (if it may be obtained) the opinion of the Authour, touching a conceit came into my minde, whilst I was reading the Book. Particularly that which he remarques upon the number of 144000. and upon 666. the name of the Pseudopropheticall Beast, with the Reason he gives of the composition of the name, all of 6. six : which is that the number of 666. ariseth from the multiplication of 3. Unites joyned together, making up the number of III. That these 3. Unites set forth the three Offices of Christ, which pertain to him incommunicably. and distributively, and conjointly considered. All which the Pseudopropheticall Beast usurps conjointly. In which consists particularly his Antichristianisme. And this multiplication produceth the number of 666. as also the multiplication of 12. by 12. which is the Apostolicall number, produceth the 144000. That for this reason the number of 666. is called the number of a man in the singular number, because it is in one onely man; whereas the number of 144000. is a number of men, in the plurall number, and drawn from the number of men. If the Authour hath set forth any other Treatises, I desire earnestly you would send them to me.

From Bloys in France,
Jun. 1634.

P. Testard.

Mr.

Mr. Brooks Letter to a Friend.

DO me the favour as to request M. Mede to give some satisfaction to the request of this Gentleman, my especiall friend, and to suffer some Manuscripts, which he hath not yet published, to be copied out to be sent him; either in Latine or English. I will satisfie his pains that shall undertake it; with promise that nothing shall be communicated but to private friends.

Westminster, 23. Febr.
1634.

Your assured Friend,

Joh: Brooks.

Paul Testard his Letter to Mr. Mede, about his translating *Clavis Apocalyptica* into French, and the number of the Beasts name.

Reverendo & Doctissimo Viro

D.D. Mede

Paulus Testardus S.P.D.

Quanta me latitia totum perfuderint, Vir Reverende & Doctissime, quas ab amplissimo Viri D. Joh. Brooks accepi literas, quae singularem tuam erga me non modo immeritum, sed & ignotum humanitatem testantur, desunt mihi verba & voces quibus significem; vix profecto eam capio animus. Etenim non modo ea mihi exhibuerunt quae in mei gratiam dignatus es de mysterio Numeri Nominis Bestiae scripto explicare, sed etiam de optatissimi ad suam Dignitatem accessus facultate mihi

per

per cum factâ certum fecerunt. Isto V.R. & D. tanquam salvo-conductu securus, non diutius hesi quin ad te istas transmitterem, quibus & gratias quantas possum maximas R. tua pro eximio isto beneficio referrem primum, ut ex animo refero; tum & questionis quæ ad te prolata fuit occasione descriptâ, rem ipsam & genuinam meam mentem amplius aperirem, quod sic cum bona D.T. veniâ facio. Præterit jam fere tricennium ex quo D. Brooks cum quibusdam Anglicè scriptis libris Clavim tuam Apocalypticam cum commentariis pro liberali suo erga me affectu misit. Opus sine nomine, sed invitante materiâ, & mittentis commendatione statim perlegi, deinde sapius suaviter trahente Rationum tuarum pondere atque industria expositionis elegantia & concinnitate relegi, non tantum Dei donum in te sapius miratus, sed & aliquid tibi assidenti (ut loqueris alicubi) revelatum, addam & extra ordinem, facile persuasus. Dicam verbo; nihil unquam mihi visum in Apocalypsin, non dicam quod cum Clavi tua & expositione æquandum veniat, sed quod ad eas propè accedat. Atque, ut ita sumus naturâ comparati, ut ejus boni cuius nos maximè oblectat fruitio, cognitionem cum aliis facile communicemus, nec vèro duntaxat cognitionem bonorum spiritualium, & salutarium, sed ipsam etiam (tanta est eorum præstantia) fruitionem, horas aliquot, quando sivit perpetuus muneris mihi à Deo misericorditer demandati labor, versioni scripti tui in linguam Gallicam impendi, ut preciosissimi istius ac divini thesauri fruendi copiam amicis meis facerem, & sic sine eorum, quibus sine summâ necessitate displicere est nefas, offensâ licuissem; Publico etiam, Versionem typis vulgandam curando, suavissimam utpote proculdubio futuram consolationem iis omnibus qui Isra-

elis

elis Dei, ut scitè vocas, subrogati consolationem expectant, Regnumque illud Christi 7. Tubæ deinceps aquè
 Εἰσαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Possūmq; procul adulationis arte D.
 T. sincerè profiteri, animum meum singulis tuis expositionibus tam plenum præbuisse assensum quàm præberi potest ab eo qui non cæco impetu, sed ratione ducitur, atque in re, ut agnoscis ipse, non parum difficili. Ipsāque adeo rationem quam reddis Numeri nominis Bestiæ Bicornis visam mihi convenientissimam. Nec enim quicquam in literis meis ad D. Brooks tanquam illud expositioni tue adversum putarem, proponere unquam mihi fuit animus, sed quod maximè ei congruum meditati mihi, meo quidem iudicio, occurrerat. Nempe sic animum subiecit ejusmodi conjectura; Quandoquidem 144000. signatorum Agni numerus numeri cujusdem nempe 12. multiplicati per seipsum factus est; Numerum etiam nominis Bestia adverse 666. Numeri alicujus multiplicati factum pariter esse. Ideoque cum Bestia istius forma; quatenus est Antichristus, & cornua habet similia Agni (sc. professione & usurpatione tenens) mihi videatur esse in Christi munera, quæ tria sunt, Sacerdotale, Propheticum, Regium, distincta, sed conjuncta subjecto, & Potestatis singula indivisibilis, atque (detur venia verbo) immultiplicabilis, sacrilegâ assumptione, Arte Arithmeticâ quasi vi an forte ex tribus unitatibus collateraliter dispositis per senarium multiplicatâ Triade mihi prodiret numerus 666. statimque prodeuntem inveni: Hoc verò inventum quia mihi videbatur & à reipsa & à ratione tuâ non absonum, D. Brooks per literas anno præterito indicavi, simul cum obnixè rogans, quando jam Nomen tuum ex cujusdam, ni fallor, Jonstoni libello, ut Clavis Apocalyptricæ istius Autoris innotuerat, ut si fieri posset,

elis Dei, ut scire vocas, subrogati consolationem expectant, Regnumque illud Christi 7. Tuhe deinceps aque βιασαι ἀπαύσσει. Possūque procul adulationis arte D. T. sincerè profiteri, animum meum singulis tuis expositionibus tam plenum præbuisse assensum quàm præberi potest ab eo qui non cæco impetu, sed ratione ducitur, atque in re, ut agnoscis ipse, non parum difficili. Ipsamque adeo rationem quam reddis Numeri nominis Bestiæ Bicornis visam mihi convenientissimam. Nec enim quicquam in literis meis ad D. Brooks tanquam illud expositioni tuæ adversum putarem, proponere unquam mihi fuit animus, sed quod maximè ei congruum meditati mihi, meo quidem judicio, occurrerat. Nempe sic animum subiecit ejusmodi conjectura; Quandoquidem 144000. signatorum Agni numerus numeri cujusdem nempe 12. multiplicati per seipsum factus est; Numerum etiam nominis Bestiæ adverse 666. Numeri alicujus multiplicati factum pariter esse. Ideoque cum Bestia istius forma; quatenus est Antichristus, & cornua habet similia Agni (sc. professione & usurpatione tenens) mihi videatur esse in Christi munera, quæ tria sunt, Sacerdotale, Propheticum, Regium, distincta, sed conjuncta subjecto, & Potestatis singula indivisibilis, atque (detur venia verbo) immultiplicabilis, sacrilegâ assumptione, Arte Arithmetica quasi vi an forte ex tribus unitatibus collateraliter dispositis per senarium multiplicatâ Triade mihi prodiret numerus 666. statimque prodeuntem inveni: Hoc verò inventum quia mihi videbatur & à reipsa & à ratione tuâ non absonum, D. Brooks per literas anno præterito indicavi, simul eum obnixè rogans, quando jam Nomen tuum ex cujusdam, ni fallor, Jonstoni libello, ut Clavis Apocalyptricæ istius Autoris innotuerat, ut si fieri posset,

& tuum de eo iudicium, & Scripta alia tua signa extarent de quacunque materia possem per eum habere. Verum longè aliam, quod aut expressionis meae, aut fortè tantum Scriptionis vitio libenter tribuo, ad te pervenisse meam Questionem jam intelligo. Vir R. & D. ex titulo quem Scripto tuo Doctissimo praefixisti; in quo non vulgarem certè humanitatem prodis, qui me indoctum sane Doctissimi titulo, ut alibi etiam, dignaris ornare, cuius à me tantum abesse meritum lubens agnosco, quantum adest mihi fervens tui cum summa eximia tua Doctrina admiratione studium, & humillimi atque devotissimi Discipuli ac servi tui placet, si mihi concedas, elogium. Facit hoc, R. & D. Vir, ut impellente D. Brooks, cuius ut Mediatoris ope apud te utor, ut de Clementia tua non parum sperans ipse tibi de novo mentem meam thesibus aliquot aperiam, idque non simpliciter, ut primum D. Brooks indicaram, sed habità Scripti tui, ut videbit R. T. ratione; eo fine ut solidissimi & acerrimi tui iudicii de invento meo genuino censuram, si R. T. placet, per eundem Mediatorem accipiam. Quam si dederis, & libertatem meam aequi boniq; pro humanitate tua consulueris, me magis ac magis devinctum ac devotum habebis. Vale Vir R. & Doctissime. Deus te Reipublica, Ecclesia, Schola diu servet incolumem. Dat. Blæsis pridie Cal. Jul. 1635.

De Numero Nominis Bestiæ.

Numerus Nominis Bestiæ commodissimè quidem è radice scenario eruendus videtur propter Imaginem Bestiæ in 6. Capite.

Verum

Verum & simul ex unitatum Triade utpote per senarium multiplicatâ ad hunc modum 111. videtur erudendus.

$$\begin{array}{r} 6. \\ \hline 666. \end{array}$$

Nam Numerus nominis Bestie cum sit αἷςοιχ (numero 144000. signatorum Agni, qui ex certi numeri nempe 12. per certum numerum nempe 12. multiplicatione oritur, videtur ideo & ex certi numeri per certum numerum multiplicatione deducendus. Fit autem tantum ex multiplicatione Triadis unitatum, multiplicante senario, numerus iste nominis Bestie 666:

Res verò ipsa favet. Nam Bestia cornua etiam habet Agni similia, hoc est sibi tribui potestatem Agni, qua triplex est, Sacerdotalis, Prophetica, Regia, unitatumque Triadem facit, siquidem & distinctæ sunt, & conjunctæ subjecto, & unaquaque immultiplicabilis. Nam quod duo cornua representantur, id fit propter convenientiam Typi. Et certè non tantum in eo forma Bestia ponitur, quod loquitur ut Draco, Idololatrias nempe & lanienas Sanctorum, sed etiam in eo quod habet cornua Agni similia.

Unde non obstat huic conjectura quod nomen Antichristi sit Ecclesiastica institutionis, quatenus Bestiam significat, nam non nititur ea hoc nomine, sed dicto Apocalypico, Cornua habebat Agni similia.

Nec item obstat quod numeri signatorum Agni ab eo tantum petatur ratio, quod eis reverà competit, nam carent hi fraude & dolo; at Bestia à fraude & dolo etiam describitur; nempe quod cum loquatur ut Draco,

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Cornua

Cornua tamen habet Agni similia. Potestatem scilicet similem jactat, imò ipsam Potestatem, quantum in ea est, usurpat.

Denique cum Draconismum misceat Christianismo Bestia, quatenus est ista Bestia, utrunque numero nominis ejus significari par esse videtur.

*Master Mede's Answer to Monsieur Testard, about
the translating of his Clavis into French,
& de numero nominis
Bestiæ.*

Reverende & clarissime Vir,

Accepi literas tuas benevolentia & humanitate plenas, à Domino Brokæo mihi transmissas : in quibus non ingratum fuit intellexisse, tenuem meam oppellam, viris, qualis tu es, doctis, ulla ex parte adhibuisse. Domi certè minùs propitiam, quàm apud exteros fortunam est experta. Id quod ego quidem faciliè animò præfagiebam ; sed amicis quibuscum eam communicaveram, editionem, ut solet, importunè flagitantibus, fidem facere non potui : donec eventus tandem docuit, me, hac saltem parte, vatem non omnino vanum fuisse. Hoc idèò te celatum nolui, ut inde, pro prudentia tua, judicium faceres, quantoperè mea intersit, ne ipse in novam libelli mei apud exteros editionem, sive suâ, sive alienâ linguâ consentirem, cui domi nedum ulteriori editione, sed

&

& hujus distractione publica, à superioribus interdictum sit, sola communicatione privata mihi permiffa.

Interim majorem in modum me tibi obstrictum fateor, cui tantoperè placuerim; ut illum non solum iteratò legere, sed in eo transferendo tantum laboris & tædii devorare non dedignareris. Nesciebam antea quicquam meum tanti pretiū fuisse; certè mihi ipsi non est visum. Sinquid ex eo fructus vel ad te, vel ad alios redierit, Deo Opt. Max. in solidum sit gloria. Ejus enim solius est quicquid est boni, meum nihil præter imbecillitatem & ignorantiam.

Ad quæsitum tuum quod attinet, equidem agnosco, me mentem tuam antea, sive meâ, sive aliorum culpâ, minimè affecutum esse. Jam verò eâ perceptâ, utut primo aspectu nonnihil concinnitate suâ adblandiebatur: tamen penitiùs introspectanti quo minus adhuc tibi plenè accederem, illud obstaculo fuit: Quod tametsi verissimum sit, Radium senarium nisi cum alio numero multiplicatum, Bestiæ numerum non redditurum: tamen animadverto, si tres istæ unitates, quas huic rei adhibes, valore simplo, & non juxta locorum seriem, multiplo accipiuntur; factum ex datis non fore, ut tu supponis, *sexcenta sexaginta sex*, sed tantum *Octodecim*. Quippe quia, si data unitatum Trias cum senario composita, *sexcenta sexaginta sex* conficere debeat; unitates istas omnino per CXI. numero, non verò pro simplis unitatibus reputandas esse: Alioquin enim tres istos Senarios ex iis factos, non nisi pro simplis quoque senariis habendos.

Hic scrupulus, si eximi potuisset, reliqua quæ adduxerim, tanti fortè futura non essent, quo minus *ἀπορρηγ* tuum calculo meo comprobarem: præsertim si usquam in S. Scriptura (quod tamen non memini) officia illa Christi triade signarentur. Alioquin enim ad S. S. Trinitatem potius retulerim; cujus nempe cum cultu Bestiæ 6. capitis dæmonolatriam Pseudopropheta nefario temperamento commiscuit. Neque enim prorsus absque suspitione sum, posse in numero isto Trium Unitatum aliquid mysterii latere, quod mihi nondum eruere darum est.

Hæc habui, Vir Doctissime, quæ ad Quæsitum tuum responderem. Fecit autem tua erga scriptum meum benignitas & affectus, ut alias quasdam chartulas meas, Domini *Brokai* rogatu, tecum communicare non dubitarim. Harum unâ mysterium calculi istius Angelici apud *Danielem*, cap. 12. com. 11, 12. jam ante septennium, vestigare sum conatus: quousque verò assecutus sum, necdum scio. Alteris duabus (Epistolâ ad Amicum, & conjecturâ de *Gogo & Magogo Apocalypstico*) sententiam meam de beato Milennio paulò plenius aperio. Plura non addo, nisi ut sanctissimis tuis studiis faveat benignissimus Deus. Ita vovet

Mense Januario
Anno 1635.

Reverentiæ & claritatis tuæ
studiofissimus,

Jos. Medus.

Supra scr.

Reverendo & Clarissimo viro Domino *Paulo Testardo*, Ecclesiæ quæ est *Blæsis* reformata, Pastori vigilantissimo.

Sir

Sir William Boswell's Letter to Mr. Mede, touching
some of his Books sent him.

Good Mr. Mede,

I know the judgement and current of the world, is for present thanks upon kindnesse; Non me qui cætera vincit Impetus. Above foure moneths since (with Letters from Mr. P. full of your and his Affection) I received four Copies of your Comment upon the Apocalypse; a large time to make accompts, and acknowledgement: True. But both are so much the riper, and better seasoned. My thanks I shall ever be renewing; your Books, I sent one to Domenico Molins, a most learned, noble Gentleman of Venice. Another, by my Lord Ambassadour Anstruther, and his Chaplain, (one Mr. Johnson) an honest learned friend of mine, into Germany. The third I bestowed upon Dr. Rivet (long and lately Professor of Divinity in Leyden, now Tutor to the Prince of Aurange his Son,) whose name and extraordinary worth you know by his works. The fourth I send to Scholars and acquaintance here: Some animadversions I am promised, which I forbear to touch at present. In generall, it is commended for a modest, discreet, learned, regular, and of all in that list most verifiable discovery: if you forbear your Millenarian Fancy. Copies are very much sought, and certainly these parts would have taken off above two hundred, if sent at first. It is an error and fault in our Printers, Visum non fieri extramittendo. In a word, you have set their teeth in edge: and I am pressed by many to procure them sight of all other things you have written; by name, your large notes upon

[Qq 4]

d id α-

διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων, ad 1 Tim. 4. 1. they will come very seasonably; because there is in hand (since and by order of the Synod of Dort) a new translation of the Bible into Dutch, with Marginal Annotations at large, to be printed in a folio Copy: wherein the Translators (understanding English perfectly) acknowledge the use and excellency of our last and authentick English Translation. Dan. Heinsius likewise tells me by letter, that he is upon the New Testament; in what manner I shall know at meeting. I finde the Zone here for Ecclesiastick Affaires temperate at present and quiet, though now and then producing Capreas saltantes, and such trifling Meteors, which busy natures will be raising; as if to keep within the lists of obedience, and to do their work plainly and quietly, were but a Dulmans part: Sic volvere Parcas! The Treaty between these united and the other Catholick Provinces is slow footed, & inter futura contingentissima. — Si quid in hac scena scire aves, aut aliud quicquam, à veteri veroque amico velis, fac sciam. For I shall ever love Joseph Mede, as an honest old friend, and think upon him tanquam Academiam in Academia; being his most affectionate to serve him,

Hague ¹¹/₂₁. Maii.
1633.

William Boswell.

Another

Another Letter from Sir William Boswell to Mr:
Mede, touching his Book sent to
Ludovicus de Dieu.

Good Mr. Mede,

I Am sure long ere this by my Brother T. B. you have understood (which you shall by this present) that your Letters of 15. March, 13. May, 16. Jun. with Letters and a Book enclosed to Ludovicus de Dieu came safely to my hand in London; as his unto him from you since my return hither. For this last week he was President of a Provinciaall Synod held de decennio in decennium by the Ministers of Holland, in this Town; so as I delivered the token of your love with my own hand into his, but in so busie a time I could not expect an Answer, or other then thanks, which he prayed me to render in abundance, for the speciall honour you had done him thereby. Divers other letters Responsory to Beverovisius have been long expected, but Salmasius delay in his (wherein he would omit nothing set or fallen from the Ancients, especially Philosophers to that purpose) hath cast all other mens arrier, whom I should be as glad to see, because together with their learning I should, how well they had learned tenere modum; for ought I know a most necessary part of Scholarship and Philosophy. It grieved me not a little that I could not see you in England, but in recompence I hope now and then to see your countenance and affection in black and white: for which you shall have returns from this place, of all sorts it yeelds, and you affect, when I know what will be most welcome, being evermore

Hague, 25. Julii,

1634.

Your most assured and ancient
friend, William Boswell.

A third

A third Letter from Sir *William Boswell* to Mr.
Mede, touching his Book sent to
Ludovicus de Dieu.

Good Mr. *Mede*,

WHat entertainment your Letters and Book found with *Ludovicus de Dieu*, you will see ere long by his own answer; his time hitherto having been taken up by being President in a Provincially Synod of Holland, and publishing his Annotations upon the Acts of the Apostles. It was sufficient for me to receive many thanks for the conveyance, (and that which was better) (better then Musick) to hear innumerable commendations of so near a friend, though I knew them due; for 'tis no small pleasure to see debts paid, where we think our selves to have Interest. At my coming last into England, I lay above three weeks wind-bound in the *Briel*, where I enjoyed the company of the Minister Author of the enclosed, which I have gained by my acquaintance; and send it for your affection to the Argument, by this bearer, sonne of *Desiderius Heraldus* (whose works and worth you know of old) that you may for the Fathers and my sake give him now and then conference and advice about such studies as he pursues, wherein himselfe will open his own minde: It will be a great kindnesse, if Doctor *Ward*, whom I pray salute from me, will give him countenance and acceffe at his times of leisure; which you may procure, and thereby oblige both him and me; and his Father my old and singular friend. You may see by this, and that title, how glad I should be to meet opportunities of doing any thing for
your

your selfe, that might assure you with what truth and readinesse of serving you, I shall ever be

Hague, Sept.
1634.

Your most affectionate Friend
as of old,

William Boswell.

Ludovicus de Dieu his Animadversions upon
Mr. Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica*, in a Letter
to Sir William Boswell.

Amplissime atque Ornatissime Vir,

TAndem ad te redit tuus Medus, ob cuius concessum hactenus visum ingentes benefica tua humanitati gratias ago: quod tam diu apud me haerit, mea fuit negligentia, quam ut benigne condones, etiam atque etiam rogo. Prodit scriptum Authorem non tantum diligentissimum, sed & doctissimum, rerum divinarum cognitione largiter perfusum, & omnis politioris literaturae ornamentis instructissimum. Reperio autem in Schedis meis paucula jamdudum quam primum legendum dedisses, a me observata, de quibus, humanitate tuâ provocatus, agere tecum audebo: eâ tamen lege, ut si maioribus distractum gravent, negligere per me liceat.

Dicit in Clavi pag. 6. sub finem, ubi cum Bestia imaginem Bestia componi videas (ut cap. 14. v. 9. 11. cap. 15. 2. cap. 16. 2. cap. 19. 20. & 20. 4.) isthic per Bestiam Pseudo-Prophetam intelligendum esse, per imaginem verò ejus Bestiam decemcornupetam seu septemcapitem resuscitantam. At repugnare videtur versus 14. cap.

13. ubi

13. ubi Bestia bicornis sive Pseudo-propheta dicitur, λέγειν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ὅτι τῆς γῆς, ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ, ὃ εἶχε τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρας, καὶ ζῆσε. Si enim imago esset Bestie bicornis imago, dicendum fuerat ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, ut facerent imaginem sibi. At jam jubet Bestia bicornis fieri imaginem Bestie alteri nimirum à se. Cui verò? Sequitur, quæ habet plagam gladii & revixit, id est Bestie decemcornupeta restituta. Agnosco quidem, pag. 105. illud καὶ ζῆσε aliter construere, quasi non sint verba Pseudo-propheta, sed Angeli, referentis Bestiam istam casam per novam hanc imaginis structuram revixisse. Sed repono, antequam ulla imaginis fieret mentio, jam antedictam fuisse sanata à plaga, v. 3. & 12. Nec dubium videri, quin Bestia hac decemcornupeta, qua ab initio capitis hucusque fuit descripta, fuerit Imperium Romanum restitutum. Quum ergo huic Bestia imaginem fieri jubet, restituta jubet fieri: & si hæc imago Bestie, est ipsa decemcornupeta, non satis commodè videtur jam injungi incolis terra ut eam faciant, quandoquidem jam ante eam à mari ascendisse viderat. Satis hæc sunt intricata, explicatiora tamen fortassis futura, si mentem doctissimi viri plenius perspectam habuerimus.

Parte 1. de sigillis pag. 6. suspicari se ait, Apoc. 4. ubi de Mari vitreo agitur, alludi ad labrum non Solomonis, quod aneum, sed Mosaicum, quod ex speculari quadam materia, videlicet ex speculis mulierum conflatum fuisse perhibetur, Exod. 38. 8. Fateor ex materia speculari, at nullo modo vitreâ, sed aneâ. Moses enim allato loco expresse dicit, ויעש את הכיור נחושת, & fecit labrum aneum: At, quid ergo est quod additur de speculis mulierum? Respondeo, fuisse specula merè anea, sed ex
are

are adeò polito, ut species incidentes aptè recipere & red-
dere posset : planè ut Ezech. 1. 7. facies animalium di-
cuntur כְּהַרְוֵי נֹצְצִים, micantes aut scintillantes
instar superficiei aeris polii.

Ibid. pag. 8. ait Apocal. 4. 6. verba illa ἐν μέσῳ τῷ
θεόνου, & ἐν κύκλῳ τῷ θεόνου exponenda per ἐν δια-
δυοῖν, quasi nimirum dictum fuisset, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κύ-
κλῳ (id est, περιβόλῳ) τῷ θεόνου. Quæ sanè dura
videtur expositio; Mollior futura, si legeretur ἐν μέσῳ
& κύκλῳ τῷ θεόνου; At quum expressè & distinctè bis
exprimitur vox θρόνου, consulto innui videtur, medium
ejus distinguendum ab ejus ambitu. Deinde, ἐν μέσῳ
τῷ κύκλῳ (seu περιβόλῳ) τῷ θρόνου distributivè sume-
re, quasi sensus esset, in medio uniuscujusque quadrangu-
li, quod est intra ambitum throni, adeoque quatuor media
pro numero quadrangulorum statuere, id magis etiam
durum. Velim itaque verba Joannis κατὰ πόδα acci-
pere, nempe vidisse eum quatuor animalia duobus in lo-
cis, primum in medio throni, deinde in ambitu ejusdem.
Quod ad ea quæ viderit in ambitu throni, rectè docet
Vir doctissimus, alludi ad quatuor animalia vexillis Is-
raeliticis olim impressa, secundum quæ castra metaban-
tur circum circa Levitas, & mediantibus Levitis circum-
circa Tabernaculum. Sed quò referemus eadem 4. ani-
malia in medio throni seu tabernaculi? ad locum Ezech.
1. 10. ubi Prophetam 4. ista animalia vidisse intra non
extra Templum, patet ex Ezech. 10. v. 3, 4. 5. collatis
cum v. 14. ubi 4. rotæ depinguntur 4. vultibus, 4. ista
animalia representantibus: nisi quòd pro פני שׁוֹר vultu
bovis, qui memoratur Ezech. 1. 10. hic sit פני כְּרֻב vultu
Chernub. Quæ collatio (ut obiter hoc injiciamus) suspi-
cionem injicit, כְּרֻב Chernub significare bovem, à Chal-
daico

daico Syriacôque כרוב Cherub aravit; Bovës enim arationi adhibebantur. Nisi fortè Hebræi firma sententia sue fulcra habcant, quum Cherubim imagines fuisse statuunt formâ humanâ, & quidem puerorum. Quod enim compositum esse volunt ex כרוב similitudinis, & Chaldaico רבי puer, puerile est & frivolum. Imò si forma Cherub fuit humana, duærotæ habuerint formam eandem, Ezech. 10. 14. quum tamen quaternæ dicuntur habuisse quaternos vultus, & vultus Cherub expressè distinguatur à vultu hominis. Quicquid sit, pulchrû mihi & magni solatii esse videtur, quatuor animalia, quæ universum Ecclesia corpus designant, non circa thronum tantum, sed & in ipso ejus medio conspecta fuisse. Etsi enim ratione externi ministerii à 24. senioribus erga corpus fidelium administrati, sint tantum in ambitu throni, imò in ambitu ipsorum seniorum, ratione tamen communionis cum Christo, qui throno ipse insidet, rectè & ipsi intra thronum constituuntur, & per 4. Cherubinorum facies intra tabernaculum coram Deo consistentium representantur.

Pag. 56. pro eo quod nunc Amos. 9. 12. in Textu Hebræo habetur, למען יורשו את סאריה ארור, olim scriptum lectum videri ait aliter, additque ex Hebraica lectiōne quæ nunc obtinet. Aliterne igitur Scriptura Hebraica nunc habet quam olim? Absit: Si enim ubicunque Lxx. Interpretes à verbis Textûs Hebraici abeunt, aliter olim scriptum lectum fuisse dicendum est, huiusquam incertum, & infinitis in locis immutatum habemus verbum Dei! Nec legerunt Lxx. ארור pro ארור. Nomen enim Dei non exprimunt, quod Jacobus ad supplendum sensum addidit. Quomodo autem locus Prophete cum verbis Jacobi conciliari possit, in notis nostris in Acta Apostolorum, quæ lucem nondum viderunt, sententiam

tiam nostram sic dicimus: Verba Prophetæ verti solere, ut possideant reliquias Edom, & omnes Gentes, &c. Hanc versionem difficillimam mihi videri, quæ cum locis Actorum concilietur: facilem autem, si $\Gamma\alpha$ non accusandi sed ut alibi sæpe faciendum, nominandi casu accipiat, ac vertamus, ut possideant (nempe restauratum tabernaculum Davidis, de quo v. precedenti) reliquiae Edom, & omnes gentes super quas invocatum fuerit nomen meum. Nec dubium mihi est, quin sic acceperint Lxx. Interpretes: transferunt enim $\epsilon\lambda\chi\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\tau\omicron\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\iota\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$, & $\tau\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta$, &c. Ut requirant cæteri hominum, & omnes Gentes, &c. quæ verba nullum habent sensum, nisi subintelligas quidnam sint requisituri, nempe id quod jam-jam dixerat, dirutum instauratumque tabernaculum Davidis: pro quo Jacobus non malè substituit $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$. sive enim eos instauratum tabernaculum, sive istius tabernaculi instauratorem Dominum requirere dicas, idem dicis. Adde, quod tabernaculum istud non propter ipsum, sed propter Dominum essent requisitæ gentes. Indagandum hic quoque cur pro יִרְשׁוּ possideant, dixerint Lxx. $\epsilon\lambda\chi\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$, requirant; an quod sive ex incuria, sive ob exemplar minùs accuratè exaratum, legerint יִרְשׁוּ ? Sic existimatur Vulgo: nec repugnamus; licet tamen aliud conjectare. Tendum, apud omnes fermi Orientales, verba quæ significant esse, sæpe etiam significare fieri, id est moveri ad esse: ut פָּתַח aperire & solvere, quia solutio motus est ad apertionem; קָנָה possidere & emere, quia emptio est motus ad possessionem; aliæque sexcenta: sic יִרְשׁ non tantum est possidere, sed etiam movere se ad possidendum. Exemplum sit illud Deut. 2. 24. $\text{וְהָלַךְ וְהָתַד בְּנוֹ מִדְּהָמָה}$. Incipe, posside,

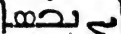
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(id est, possessionem adi) & conflagre cum eo bello : non poterant incipere actu possidere, antequam conflixissent & superassent hostem. Sensus ergo est, Incipe adire possessionem. Et clariùs etiam ו. 32. חלרש לרשח את ארצו. *qua si vertas cum Pagnino, Incipe possidere, ut possideas terram ejus ; Tautologia mera est : nequaquam verò si vertas, Incipe adire possessionem. Ita & hoc loco, למען ירש, ut possideant, non tam ipsam possessionem, quàm possidendi studium denotare existimarunt Lxx. quod requirendi verbo satis feliciter expresserunt. Neque mirum, quod שְׁאֲרֵי אֲדוֹם verterint οἱ ἁπαλοῖσι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Fortassis enim legerunt אֲדוֹם aut potius, ut alibi sepe, hic quoque Edom latius quàm de propriè sic dicto populo accipiendum sunt arbitrati. Sicut enim duorum Rebeccæ filiorum minimus Isaac Ecclesiam, maximus natu Esau sive Edom omnes reliquos homines ab Ecclesia alienos adumbrabat : quamobrem in scriptis Rabbiorum Imperium Romanum, præsertim quum longè latèque per universum ferè orbem pateret מְלָכּוּת אֲדוֹם, regnum Edom fuit nuncupatum, atque etiamnum per בְּנֵי אֲדוֹם, filios Edom, Christiani omnes ipsis intelliguntur. Quum ergo hic à Propheta Tabernaculo Davidis, id est, Reipublicæ Israelis, opponantur reliquie Edom, satis commodè per eos reliquos homines intellexerunt. Quod autem diximus, וְאֵת interdum nominativo inservire, siquis fortassis id post verba Passiva fateatur, alibi verò neget, videat loca 2 Reg. 9. 25. Nehem. 9. 32. 1 Sam. 17. 34. 2 Reg. 6. 5. Ezech. 43. 7. Jer. 33. 5. ubi cum verbis neutris construitur : est & ubi cum Transitiuis, ut Nehem. 9. 34. Jer. 38. 16. Ezech. 39. 14. Ita tam Hebrææ quàm Græcæ satis apertè indicant anticipatam Gentium conversionem, quæ Jude-*

orum

daorum restorationem antecedere debeat, quod voluit Vir doctissimus.

Pag. 132. certum ait esse, Candelabra non Prophetas, sed Ecclesias denotare; secus mihi istoc loco videtur. Eadem enim Metonymia, quâ duo Prophetæ duo olea vocantur, quia oleum salutis subministrant, duo quoque Candelabra rectè vocantur, quia lucē Evangelii gestantes, eam ad alios diffundunt. Nec obstat quod Apoc. 1. 7. Septem candelabra exponantur per 7. Ecclesias: diversa enim ratione & Ecclesia, & Ministris eadem vox tribui potest: ut & alia notione Apoc. 2. 5. Movebo candelabrum tuum, dicitur de ademptione pure prædicationis Evangelii.

Pag. 187. versus 2. & 3. cap. 13. ex mente Syri sic conjungit, Tradidit ei Draco vires suas, & thronum suum, & potestatem magnam; & unum ex capitibus suis lethali plaga fauciatum, &c. Ubi, unum ex capitibus fauciatum, in Accusat. casu accipitur: quod Syra constructio, nisi fallor, non patitur. Sic enim forma Emphatica dicendū fuerat  at forma simplex  postulat subintelligi verbum substantivum, &

unum ex capitibus ejus (erat) quasi mactatum ad mortem.

Pag. 252. Armageddon cum Drusio vult esse quasi גרר חרסא excidium exercitus eorum. Drusius scripsit, גרר חרסא (id enim nihil significat) sed גרר חרסא ubi גרר est Affixum Chaldaicum. Verum גר pro turma sive exercitu Chaldaeis non usurpatur, sed pro fortuna. Itaque verisimile non est, vocem hanc compositam esse ex Chaldaico חרסא Hebræo גר, & rursus Chaldaico affixo גרר. Nos resolvimus in חר גרר, Montem gloria vel gloriosum judica: Aut in גרר חר, hostem gloriosum judica. Ara-

[R 1]

bibus

bibus סִנַּי in genere gloriam significat; ut & verbum סִנַּי, gloriosus fuit: unde apud Hebræos סִנַּי res quævis præstantissima, & laudatissima, non tantum in genere fructuum, sed & auri, argenti, vestium, ceterarumque rerum qua laudari solent. Ita sensus erit, cladem inimicorum Ecclesie futuram in tali loco, cui nomen pie precibus suis faciem, dicentes, Montem (vel hostem) gloriosum judica Domine. Vel si *מִן* pro Infinitivo accipiamus, & hoc pro nomine, ad verbum erit, Mons gloriæ judicii; id est, mons gloriosi judicii. Sic intelligitur Mons Sion, & Synecdochicè Terra sancta; quod laudo.

Plura non addo, Vir Amplissime, ne prolixior quàm par est, humanitate tuâ, quâ literarum mearum alloquium benigne admittis, abuti videar, & in salutare illud monitum, quod vulgatissimo & eleganti proverbio apud Arabes circumfertur, peccare:

أَنَا كَانَ هَاجِبِي مُسَكِّي نَا كُلُّ كُلِّ id est; quum fuerit amicus tuus Mel, ne comedito eum totum. Non possum tamen, quin quid de hoc scripto sentiam, paucis exponere. Synchronismos Visionum acutissimè inventos miror, eosque hic enucleatos & elucidatos video, ut an quid hætenus in eo genere luculentius prodierit, meritò dubitem. Neque me in Visionibus Apocalypticis usque adeo hætenus versatum agnosco, ut plerisque Doctissimè Viri assertionibus refragari aut velim aut possim, attamen neque assensum facile præbeo, quum non satis plene omnia perviderim, & in abstrusis istis rebus multa conjecturis potius quàm solidâ & perspectâ veritate niti videantur.

Ad sententiam certè Chiliasarum ut accedam, induci nondum

nondum possum: *Iudeos ad fidem Christi aliquando convertendos, atque id tempus mundo felicissimum, imò ζωὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν vitam ex mortuis futurum, firmâ fide amplector. Sed Iudeos & Israelitas in terram Canaan esse revocandos, inde Diem Judicii esse inchoandum, particularem tum fore quorundam resurrectionem, illustrem tum fore Domini ἐν πυρὶ φλογὸς ἐπιφάνειαν, ibi novam Christi regnum oriturum & per mille annos duraturum, cujus sedes in Terra Canaan sit futura, ac tum alta pace & tranquillitate Ecclesiam per totidem annos fruituram, aliaque ejus sententiæ similia, nondum mihi persuaderi possunt. Nec tamen damno qui ista disputant modestè & disquirunt, quippe qui beatum me censebo, si in felicia ista tempora incidere detur: beatiorum tamen si afflictionibus Christi in his terris conformi, gloria quoque ipsius in cælis conformem fieri detur. Multa habeo qua adversus sententiam istam opponam: sed jamdudum te immanis hæc Epistole prolixitas lassat, & à melioribus negotiis importunè advocat.*

Restat, Vir Amplissime, ut ad serenissimum Regem tuum profecturo ducem Deum ac reducem præcer, qui te & Regiæ Majestati gratum sistat, & familie deinde tue ac nobis sospitem restituat. Ego interim cum candidissimo atque integerrimo tuo meoque Goffo me oblectabo, cui novum ex græcâ literas Hebraicas animum sumenti, meam rursus operam addixi: dignus est piorum doctorumque omnium, atque adeo tuo præsertim, qui utraq; parte excellit, amor, futurus aliquando vestra in patriâ & veritatis columnen & eruditionis exemplar. Plura dicere vetat noster candor. Ego omibi amicitiam ejus

[Rr 2]

magno-

magnoperè gratulor, vel eo potissimum nomine, quòd per eum tua Amplitudini non innotescere modo, sed & charus reddi potuerim. Nihil unquam magis in votis habui, quam piis ac doctis probari, qui si iidem & Mag-nates sint, quum iria illa raro in una morentur sede, in te autem disjungi noluerint, ingratus forem, nisi id mihi auspiciatum dicerem. Vale, Vir Amplissime, Rei-publica vestra & nostra, tuis & nobis diu multumque incolumis, meque semper amore tuo dignare. Datum Lugduno Batavorum. 25. Febr. Anno 1634.

*Amplitudini tuæ devotissimus,
Ludovicus de Dieu.*

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Ludovicus de Dieu his
Animadversiones.*

Reverende & Clarissime Vir,

QUAS mecum communicavit Nobilissimus & Amplissimus Eques, mihi quæ amicissimus D. G. B. animadversiones tuas in *Clavem* meam, commentationesque *Apocalypticæ*, ad eò mihi gratæ acceptæque fuerunt, ut diutius ferendum non putaverim nullum te earum exemplar mancupo possidere. Mitto igitur hoc quod vides honoris & amicitiae pignus; quod tametsi tardiusculum sit (tantam enim fore, apud vos exemplarium penuriam nunquam suspicatus sum) spero tamen te nihilominus pro humanitate tua non dedignaturum.

Ego

Ego sanè ex eruditissimis animadversionibus tuis profecisse me non diffitebor, imprimis ex eo quod mones de verbis istis, *cap. 4.* *ὅν μεσση τῷ θρόνῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ τῷ θρόνῳ*, non per *ἐν ᾧ δυνάμει*, ut ego volebam, verum rectius *καὶ πᾶσι* intelligendis. Lectis enim quæ ex *Ezechiele* ibi doctè annotasti, inopinatum ne mentem meam perfundi sensi; statimque in eam sententiam concessisse: Sellam cui Deus insidebat absque dubio quatuor animalibus gestatam fuisse, quorum singula, posterioribus intro latentibus in *ὁμοειδῆ* sibi in circuitu Throni Animalia ora sua obverterent; quemadmodum apud *Ezechielem*, divinum Numen legimus, Cherubinis quadruplici eorundem Animalium vultu conspicuis subvectum fuisse. Atque hoc illud esse, quod *Foannes* de Theatro Apocalyptrico refert, non solum in Throni circuitu, sed etiam in medio Throni, quatuor ista Animalia conspecta sibi fuisse. Gavissus igitur sum admodum, à duriori ista expositione mea, me tam insperato liberatum, de quo (ut verum fatear) scrupulus aliquis mihi semper inhæserat: Eo enim ingenio sum, (delicatulò an moroso?) ut nisi ubi interpretatio commodè & absque salebris eat, nunquam mihi satisfacere soleam. Porro quod hîc addis de *רֹבֹעַ Ezech. 10. 4.* significante Bovem à Chaldaico Syriacoque *רֹבֹעַ* aravit; de hoc quoque nonito gratias tibi debeo maximas, & magnopere confirmatum vellem.

At verò quod *Clav. p. 6. de Bestia & Imagine* ejus affirmo; ubicunque eæ jugales eant, sive invicem componentur, ibi *Bestia* nomine Pseudo-prophetam indigitari, *Imaginis* autem Bestiam decemcornu-

[R r 3]

tam:

tam : id tibi ex *cap.* 13. dubium videri ais, & omnino intricatum, explicatius tamen fortassis futurum; si mentem meam plenius perspectam haberes. Ego igitur sic amplius declaro mentem meam: Me dictum illud meum non ultrà extendi voluisse, quàm ad loca, ubi copulatio ista occurrat τῷ Θεῷ καὶ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ. Ibi enim Genitivum αὐτοῦ activè, non passivè capiendum; ut sit sensus: Imago quam fieri curavit Bestia, quæque in dominio ejus sit, ἰδὼς, non autem quæ repræsentet Bestiam. Quemadmodum nimirum si *Miche* Idolium dicitur ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ, i. γλυπτόν, ut sanè dicitur, *Judic.* 18. 31. aut *Nebuchadnezzaris* Colossus (quo forsan hîc allusum est) εἰκὼν Ναβυχοδονοσόρου. Utque τῶν τῶν εἰκόνων seu τῶν τύπων ὑμῶν, Sp. Sanctus exponit (*Amos.* 5. 26. *Abd.* 7. 42.) τῶν τύπων ὅς ἐποίησαν ὑμῖν. Quod nisi admittatur, extra caput 13. ubi primò in scenam prodit, nunquam iterum Pseudo-propheta in tota *Apocalypsi* Bestia vocabitur, quod mihi non sit verisimile, Sp. Sanctum nomen quo primò eum produceret atque describeret, nunquam postea adhibiturum.

Attamen alibi ubi Copulatio ista, quam dixi τῷ Θεῷ καὶ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ minimè reperitur, ut *cap.* 13. libens agnosco (neque unquam aliter vel per somnium mihi sentire contigit) eandem imaginem Bestiæ quoque primæ seu Decemcornupetæ imaginem dici; atque hîc quidem sensu passivo, & similitudinis intuitu; id est, imaginem qua Bestia repræsentetur, imò qua ipsa seipsam, sed alio, atque alio statu, repræsentet. Quod, ut rectè intelligatur, duplex Bestiæ decemcornupetæ status discernendus est: Unus in

in quo plagam accepit (hic Imperii R. Ethnici, seu à Dracone, infessi status fuit,) Alter post plagæ curationem, quo Pseudo-prophetæ imperio, religioso nomine, subdita est. Posterior hic status est, qui prioris Imago audit, cujus nempe effigiem adeo ad vivum exprimat, ut in eo prior iste status, vel Bestia priore isto statu, omnimodò revixisse videatur.

Atque hinc statim colligere licet, Imaginem istam, non decemcornupetæ restitutæ Imaginem dicendam esse, sed decemcornupetæ cæsæ: restitutæ verò formam quatenus restituta est. Quod verò opponis de Bestiæ curatione ab initio capitis memorata, antequam ulla Imaginis mentio facta sit; non video cur me à sententia mea depellere debeat, quum illud non in eadem ejusdem Bestiæ historia fiat, sed in diversis visionibus Bestiarum diversarum, quarum quidem una, septem capitibus & decem cornibus insignis, plagæ, quam acceperat, curationem adepta est: Altera verò emplastrum edocuit, quo curatio illa facta est. Quæ duo, utut simul eodémque tempore gesta sint, simul tamen narrari non potuerint, eo quòd diversarum Bestiarum essent, quarum suum cuique scorsim attribui oportebat. Quare & illud hic notandum venit, Apostolum, cum in secundæ Bestiæ descriptione mentionem inferat φ Θηρίου φ $\omega\rho\alpha\iota\tau\upsilon$ δ $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta$ η $\omega\lambda\eta\gamma\eta$ φ $\delta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\upsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\upsilon$, non ad tempus rei gestæ, sed ad narrationis ordinem respexisse.

Atque hæc de Bestiis. Sed de *Mari quoque Vitreo* (p. 6. *Com. de Sigil.*) dicendum est aliquid, quòd aliorum ibi sententiam meam accipis. Neque enim ego istic dico, eo, non ad labrum *Solomonis*, quod

æneum, sed ad *Mosaicum*, quod ex speculari quadam materia conflatum fuit, alludi, quasi *Mosaicum* non fuerit æneum, cum id Textus apertè dicat: imò expressè scripsi, Mare istud vitreum labrum illud immane in Templo *Solomonis*, Mare nuncupatum, repræsentasse, quamvis illud æneum fuit, nostrum verò ex vitreâ pellucidâque materiâ: unde fortasse (nempe ob formam istam pellucidam alludi simul ad vetustius illud *Mosaici* Tabernaculi labrum suspicari quis possit, quòd illud similiter ex speculari quadam materia conflatum fuisse perhibetur.

Ad reliquas animadversiones tuas, quæ ferè ad linguarum Orientalium (quarum tu verè Oraculum es) iudicium spectent; nimis incitiam meam & temeritatem proderem, siquid tibi reponerem; susque, quod aiunt, cum *Minerva in arenam descenderem*. Ut enim in Hebraicis modicum fortè possim; reliquarum peritiam non habeo: præterea is sum qui multo magis aliorum iudicia audire malim quàm mea præfractè defendere. Interim facere non possum, quin unum hoc porro adjiciam: Me nullam adhuc causam videre potuisse, cur magis in Veteri Testamento * variante lectionem admittere reformidem, quàm in Novo; aut cur ubi Apostoli & Evangelistæ lectionem quam secuti sunt Lxx. (nam aliter eos alicubi legisse, quàm nos hodiè, non est dubitandum) calculo suo comprobasse videantur, illos Duces sequi, perinde tutum non esset, ac Masorethas.

* Conferatur Hymnus Davidis novissimus 2 Sam. 22. cum eodem v. 18. Historia excidii Hierosolymitani 2 Reg. 2 v. 18. cap. 24. ad finem c. 25. cum eadem historia Jer. 52. Legatio Merodach Beladan 2 Reg. 6. 20. com. 12, 13. etc. cum eadem Esai. 39. 2 Sam. 21. 19. cum 1 Par. 20. 5.

Ut si quis, exempli gratia, pro וְהוּא יְהוָה *Esaï.* 29. 13. legendum censeat וְהוּא יְהוָה, *ἡ μά- τλω σέβονται με*, ex *Matth.* 15. aut pro וְהוּא יְהוָה, *Ier.* 31. 32. וְהוּא יְהוָה, i. *ἡ μέλπω αὐτῶν* (scu *ἐβδελύξα*) juxta allegationem Apostoli ad Hebræos, cap. 8. 9. aut pro וְהוּא יְהוָה, *Hos.* 14. 3. sublata *ἀνωμαλία* constr. *ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς*, *καρ- πὸν χειλέων ἡμεῶν*, ex cap. 13. *vers.* 15. ejus- dem Epistolæ. Non video, inquam, cur in S. Scripturam sacrilegus audire mereretur, qui sic ex ipsa Scriptura S. de meliore ejus lectione pro- nunciaverit: cum præsertim Spiritum Sanctum alicubi observare sit crisis manifestius exercen- tem; aliamque à receptâ lectionem præferentem; etiam ubi Lxx. versioni cum hodiernis exempla- ribus Hebraicis ad amussim convenit. Locus est *Matth.* 27. commate 10. *Καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τε- ἀρχοῦται ἀρχόμενα* (*τὴν πῆλιν τῷ πεποιημένῳ ὃν ἐπ- μύσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ.*) *ἡ ἔδωκα αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τῷ κεραιμῶς καὶ διὰ συνέταξέ μοι Κύ- ρι.* Aut enim nimium fallor, aut Evangelista hoc loco, apud Prophetam in Hebræo, legen- dum innuit וְהוּא יְהוָה pro eo quod in nostris co- dicibus est וְהוּא יְהוָה. Quorsum enim alioquin Tex- tum ita clauderet; *καὶ διὰ συνέταξέ μοι Κύρι.*, & interim nullam τῷ οἶκῳ τῷ Κυρίῳ mentionem faceret? Imò verò suspicari quis possit, eti- am Spiritum Sanctum tria ista * Prophetæ capita 9, 10, 11. genuino suo Authori vindicari voluisse: pluscula enim in iis sunt, quæ, si quis attentè consideret, non tam *Zacharie* ætati convenire vide-

Text of Scripture. Et *infra*. His answer concerning the 9. 10. & 11. ch. of *Zachary*, &c.

antur,

* *Vid. su- pra*, Mr. *Mede's* Answer touching corruption crept into the sacred.

antur, quàm *Jeremie* : sed quoniam forsàn à *Zacharia* post captivitatem reperta, ejusque testimonio & fide primùm Ecclesiæ commendata, inde factum, ut Prophetiùs ejus adjungerentur.

Ego verò is non sum, qui harum quidquam temerè & solus affirmare velim : quinimò conjecturas hasce meas virorum doctorum, & tuo inprimis, vir eximie, judicio subjectas volo. Plura non addo, nisi hoc solum : unà cum libello meo ad te venire exemplar * Epistolæ ad Amicum, quâ sententiâ meam de *Millennario* paulo plenius aperio : in quam, me nulla animi levitate aut studio præpostero delapsum credas velim ; sed postquam alia omnia frustrâ tentassem, tandem rei ipsius claritudine perstrictum paradoxo succubuisse. Deus te, Vir clarissime, diù incolumem servet Ecclesiæ & Reipublicæ literariæ bono. Ita vovet

* Vid. supra Medi Epistolam ad Amicum de Millennio.

*Claritatis & virtutis tue
studiosissimus,*

Superscript. Ad *Ludovicum
de Dieu*. Lugd. Bar.
1634.

JOS. MEDUS.

Dr. *Twisse's* seventh Letter to Mr. *Mede*, touching the vindication of *Jeremies* prophetic, and about the frequent celebrating of the Holy Communion, &c.

Worthy SIR,

Do you not misse your Letter ad *Ludovicum de Dieu* : And doe you not finde it strange it is not returned

returned with the rest? I assure you, I took no notice of it till Wednesday last, two dayes after the last weeks letter I wrote unto you. In every particular it was welcome unto me, as all yours alwayes are. But your variae lectiones concerning the Old Testament, and the pregnant evidences thereof, which you alledge, doe astonish me; and above all, your adventure to vindicate unto Jeremy his own prophecy, which so long hath gone under the name of Zachary. I never was acquainted with any better way of reconciliation then that which Beza mentions, of the likenesse of abbreviations of each name, which might cause a mistake by the Transcribers: Oh that you would reveale unto me those pluscula, which in those three Chapters of Zachary, 9, 10, 11. doe more agree (as you observe) to the time of Jeremy, then to the time of Zachary! Why may you not have a peculiar way also to reconcile the Genealogy in the Lxx. with that in the Hebrew, where * Kainan is found in the one which is not in the other? Thus I make bold to put you to new trouble; but I presume it is no more trouble to you then the writing; like as that other whereabout I moved you, how the 7. lamps are maintained by the oyle derived from the 2. Olive Trees: if by the 7. lamps are meant the seven Angels that stand before the Throne of God.

Yet have I not done with your large letter concerning † Temples and Altars: since the writing of my last, while I was reading that large letter of yours to some Divines, who were much taken with admiration at the learning contained therein, in an Argument wherein we had been so little versed, I say in the reading of it, I observed one thing which in all my former readings, I took no notice of, and that is in these words; This is a point of great

* Vid supra, Mr. Mede's Answer concerning a Discourse Inferring from the Septenary Types of the Old Testament that the world should last 7000. yeers

† See Mr. Mede's Remains formerly printed, pag. 61.

great moment and consequent, worthy to be looked into by all the learned of the Reformed Religion, lest while we have deservedly abolished the prodigious and blasphemous sacrifice of the Papists, wherein Christ is again hypostatically offered to his Father, we have not (but very implicitly and obscurely) reduced that ancient commemorative sacrifice of Christians, wherein that one sacrifice of Christ upon the Crosse, was continually by that sacred Rite represented and inculcated to his Father; His Father put in mind thereof by those monuments set before him, wherein we testified our own mindfulness thereof to his sacred Majesty; that so he would for his sake according to the Tenor of the New Covenant in his Blood, be favourable and propitious to us miserable sinners. *In which words upon better and more serious consideration, I observe; you acknowledge, First, A commemorative sacrifice of Christians continually performed in ancient times. Secondly, This hath been miserably corrupted by the Papists, and transformed by them into that service which is called their Masse in distinction from their Mattins. Thirdly, That Protestants have justly abolished this prodigious and blasphemous sacrifice of theirs. Fourthly, But they have not done well, in that they have not reduced that ancient commemorative sacrifice of Christians, save implicitly and obscurely. Now in two things I am to seek, for the understanding of your meaning, 1. How we have reduced it, in that implicate and obscure manner you speak of. 2. How you would have it reduced in conformity to the Ancients, and wherein this conformity doth consist? I remember what you alleadged out of Clemens, of νεοσφο-*

ἐὰν καὶ λειτουργίαι; which were to be performed in times prescribed by Analogy to the courses of devotion commanded in the Old Testament. Now this I guesse you deliver, not so much in respect unto the Sabbath service, as unto the daily sacrifice of a lamb every morning. I imagine you would have the celebration of the service, which we call the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to be daily; but I presume not in a private manner, but in the way of a Communion: but unlesse it be twice a day, it is not congruous to the daily Sacrifice, which was of a Lamb every evening, as of a Lamb every murning. And then again I finde amongst the Ancients no small difference; for a time it was celebrated in the evening onely, at least in some places, and that with some difference: for some celebrated it after they had eaten; some fasted all the day before, that they might come jejuni thereunto. Now I would hear your judgement; both of the practise of the Ancients in this particular, wherewith I am not so well acquainted. Our Saviour saith, Doe this in remembrance of me: this prescribes nothing concerning the frequency of it. S. Paul addes, This doe as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me: where also we finde no certain time prescribed. Act. 2. 42. We read, that they continued in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayers: here likewise is no signification, that this breaking of bread (which I understand of the celebration of that Sacrament) was performed daily. And whereas vers. 46. it is said, that they continued dayly with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home, did eat their meat with gladnesse and singlenesse of heart: I have conceived it to be spoken of refreshing naturall, not Sacramentall

mentall and Spirituall. And Act. 20. 7. their meetings for breaking of bread, seems to have been restrained to the first day of the week; that being the day of their assembling themselves, as it seems by 1 Cor. 16. 2. And Justin Martyr makes relation of their Christian meetings when the Sunday comes. Secondly, I would gladly know, how farre you think that custome of the Ancients you speak of (whatsoever it be) should be reduced, and that clearly, not implicitly and obscurely. For I assure you, I am much to seek in the meaning of this; yet I have read in some sort Mornay upon the Masse, and Bishop Morton too, and somewhat in Baronius concerning this. And I am in doubt whether the Papists themselves, were it not for the doctrine of Transubstantiation, would not be as much to seek herein as we are.

In the close of that large letter of yours, you signifie that you reserve one thing, lest it might undergoe censure; which otherwise you would communicate. Good Sir, you have no cause to distrust my censure. I hear by Mr. Barle, it is concerning Cornelius, whom you take to have been no Froselyte, in any degree; the contrary wherunto supposed in our Divinity Schools was one of the first things I was acquainted with upon my coming to Oxford; and since I finde confessed by Schindler on the root גור in the interpretation of גרי. Yet I pray let me see your discourse thereon; and let me know how you salve it: for I am confident you are no Arminian. The Text acknowledgeth him to be not only ἀβόμει, but εὐσεβής, and one of good report amongst all the Jewes; and Act. 11. they that opposed Peters going to him and his, are said to be ἐκ τῆς ἑξουσίας. I heartily desire to know the most and worst that

that can be said against any Tenet of mine : I shall be no loser by Truth; & *veritas magna est & prævalebit*, against all opposition; for that is from God; error and falshood is from the Creature. You may see by this, I make you a great, if not the greatest part of my study; especially considering my infirmity at this time, which requires I should rather be lying upon my Bed, then either going or sitting up. Your Answer to these particulars; Zachary in two places, the prophecy of the fourth Chapter, and that other of the 9, 10, 11. The sight of Cornelius; and your explicating the practise of the ancient Churches in their continuall celebrating of that commemorative sacrifice, in distinction from that which we doe implicitly and obscurely, will be a great refreshing to my spirit, and consequently, may prove some ease to my bodily infirmity also. And I hope I shall trouble you no more, unless it be to excite you to goe on upon the Revelation. The Lord give a blessing to all your studies, and in good time perfect them to the consolation of his Church in these sorrowfull dayes of Christendome.

Newbury 3. Aug.
1635.

Your loving friend in the
surest bond,

W. Twisse.

Postscr. It is time to return
that of yours ad Ludov:
de Dieu, which here-
with I doe.

Mr.

*Mr. Mede's Answer about the seven Lamps in the
Temple, signifying the seven
Archangels.*

THe seven-lamped candlestick in the Temple before the Vaile, signified the seven Archangels which stand before the presence of God.

That in *Zachary* was but a vision of it, and chosen there to represent (*Synecdochicè*) the Throne of Gods Majesty, the Temple and his service therein. The two Olive-branches on each side ministring after an unseen and unusuall manner, oyle unto those Lamps, figured *Zerubbabel* and *Josua*, the Prince and High Priest, by whom the Throne of presence had and should be first and last re-created, and together with the service, there continued and fully established. But this not by armed *might and power*, but by the secret way of Gods Spirit and Providence, working with them, and giving successe more then credible to their endeavours; even as these Lamps in the Vision were supplied with oyle from the two Olive-branches, not according to the wonted, but an extraordinary and imperceptible way.

The supplying therefore of Oyle to the Lampe from the two Olive-branches, hath no respect or reference to the seven Angels, which the Lamp signified, but to the place pitched for Gods presence and service; which the Candlestick in this Vision stood to represent; and so was accordingly accommodated, as the scope of the Vision required; or more briefly thus,

The

The Olive-branches had reference to what the Candlestick stood for in this Vision, not to what it immediately signified in the Temple: 'Tis one thing to set up, maintain, and continue the type and symbole which represents; another, the thing thereby represented. *Zerubbabel* and *Jesua* did the one, but not the other; namely, no more then the Priests in their courses in the Temple were wont to do, who were to renew the Lamps every day morning and evening.

Besides, in Types and Parables *non oportet quilibet in significationem trahi*, because some circumstances may be of *decorum*, and some of necessity.

But lastly, if none of these wayes be sufficient to discharge this rub by declining it; then say that *Zerubbabel* and *Jesua* in this Vision, in that work of building the Temple of the Lord, and of bringing the people out of captivity, were intended for types of Christ, according to his twofold Office of Kingdome and Priesthood: From whom, when he should be exalted to the Throne of Divine Majestie, and sit at the right hand of God, the seven Archangels were to receive their instructions and commissions (*i.e.* the oyle wherewith they burn) as from the Head of the Church; and therefore in the *Apocalyps* are made to be *the eyes and horns of the * Lamb*, that is, Ministers and Instruments of his jurisdic-
* And what if he be the stone with the seven eyes in

Zac. 3. 9. *Dedi coram Josua lapidem, i.e. dedi ei in successorem Pontificatus, Regem Pontificem.* For 𐤒𐤍 signifies in Scripture, a King, *Κασιλεύς* *ἑδωίς τῷ λαῷ*, as appears by *Gen. 49. 24.* (where *Josua* is firstly meant, and *Ephraim* challenged much from the Prophecy, as appears by their ambition) and by *Esa. 28. 16.* where the Chaldees for 𐤒𐤍 bath 𐤒𐤍, but in *Genesis* they translate to another sense, not of envy to *Ephraim*.

[S f]

on,

on, both to see and execute, and that this was myſtically implied in this Viſion of *Zachary*. For that theſe two were types of Chriſt, it appears, of *Jeſua* in *cap. 3.* of this Prophecie, *ver. 8, 9.* and *cap. 6. ver. 11, 12.* &c. Of *Zerubbabel* (if not by this Viſion, yet) by the laſt of *Haggai* in the very end, beſides that our Saviour deſcended from his loyns.

F. M.

Mr Mede's Answer, concerning the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Chapters of Zachary, and what therein befits not ſo well his time as Jeremie's.

* Mat. 27.
9, 10.

YOU preſſe me here to diſcover my fancy. For the allegations will not be convictive, though of force to encline him who out of that citation in the * *Gospel*, can be plyable to think thoſe Prophecies *Jeremie's*. For *Zachary's*, no Scripture ſaith they are, though they are inſerted into his volumes. But this proves them no more to be his, then the like doth *Agur's* Proverbs to be *Solomons*, or all the *Pſalms* in the *Pſalter* to be *David's*.

For as for the *Titles* on the tops of many pages it matters not. It is a latter deviſe. The *Jews* wrote in *Rolls* or *Volumes*, and the title was but once. If ours were added to the *Roll*, *ob ſimilitudinem argumenti*, or for ſome other reaſon, it had a new title as that of *Agur*, or perhaps ſometimes none, but was *אגור*.

Well then, that which I fancy or conceive, is,
1. That

1. That those Prophecies against *Damascus* and the *Philistins*, chap. 9. would better besit *Jeremie's* time of their destruction by *Nebuchadnezzar*, then that of *Zacharie's* time by *Alexander*. See the Prophecie against *Damascus*, *Fer.* 49. 23. against the *Philistins*, chap. 47. 2. and *Ezech.* 25. 15. For where do we finde *Damascus* destroyed from *Zacharie's* till our Saviours time ? For to come under the hands of new Masters, or to suffer some direption or pillaging, doth not seem to satisfie the intent of the Prophecie. And for the *Philistins*, though it be true that *Alexander* destroyed *Gaza* (because it held out long against him, and he was wounded there) yet it appears not, that any such desolation befell *Askalon*, whereby it should not be inhabited, or *Ashdod*; nor should they seem in *Zacharie's* time to have so well recovered that *clades* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, as to be a subject ripe for a new Prophecie to that purpose.

2. That of *Tyre* in the third verse of that ninth chapter, That she had *built her self a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets*. I doubt whether it so well besit her that had so lately been destroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Sure not so well as it would the time of *Jeremy*. See *Ezechiel's* Prophecies thereabout, chap. 26, 27, 28. *Sed transeat.*

3. That which moves me yet more then the rest, is in chap. 11. whence that in the Gospel is quoted, which contains a Prophecie of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and a description of the wickednesse of the Inhabitants, for which God would *give them to the sword, and have no more pity upon them*. It is expounded

[Sf 2]

ded

ded of the destruction by *Titus*; but me thinks such a Prophecie was nothing seasonable for *Zacharie's* time (when the City yet, for a great part, lay in her ruines, and the Temple not yet recovered hers) nor agreeable to the scope of *Zacharie's* Commission; who together with his colleague *Haggai*, was sent to encourage the people lately returned from captivity, to build their Temple and instaure their Common-wealth. Was this a fit time to foretell the destruction of both, whiles they were but yet a building? and by *Zachary* too, who was to encourage them? would not this better besit the desolation by *Nebuchadnezzar*?

I confesse I am not so well skilled, as to interpret the particulars thereof, supposing they be of that time. But you see now what those *pluscita* are I fancy not so well to fit *Zacharie's* time as *Feremiah's*. *Valcant quantum valere possint.*

'Tis certain, that *Feremie's* Prophecies are digested in no order, but onely, as it seems, they came to light in the *Scribes* hands: Hence sometimes all is ended with *Zedekiah*; then we are brought back to *Jehojakim*, then to *Zedekiah* again, &c. Whereby it seems they came not to light to be enrolled *secundum ordinem temporis*, nor all together, but as it happened in so distracted a time. And why might not some not be found till the return from captivity? and be approved by *Zachary*, and so put to this Volume according to the time of their finding and approbation by him, and after that some other Prophecies yet added of his?

If you had not put me out by your last Letters
(which

which I received on Friday Aug. 7. I was looking into an old notion concerning our old businesse of *Antichrist*, a notion which I had long laid aside, but upon a late occasion began to take some new liking thereunto, seeing some good use thereof; namely, that the prophetic of Antichrist and the *ὑπερκαί- ποι*, wherein hee was to reign, should not bee understood till many hundred yeers after Christ, but remain sealed till the time appointed 1200. *ad saculum usque duodecimum*, the twelfth Century. All this by expresse prophecy. And that therefore the Authority of the Fathers and their opinion concerning this point is of *no validity*: Howsoever it be now come of late among our selves to be a main objection that the *Pope* is not He. But now I must defer it to more leisure: Some other businesse coming on me; and I being unfit for above one thing at once.

There was something I wrote to you once about the proof of the Resurrection out of **Moses*, and that demonstration of our Saviour in the Gospell; which I never perceived you found leisure seriously to examine and consider of; yet may it have something considerable.

Thus desiring Almighty God to fill you with all benediction, with my best respects I take my leave, and am

Christ's Colledge,
Aug. 12. 1635.

Yours,
Joseph Mede.

[Sf 3]

Mr.

The discourse upon this notion was afterwards finished, and writ in Latin.

* *Vid. supra*, Mr. Mede's answer touching our Saviours proof of the Resurrection, &c.

Mr. Dury's Letter to Mr. Mede, touching a Book
sent him from *Ludovicus de Dieu*.

Gratiam & Pacem.

Cum Lugduno-Batavorum, Clarissime & Doctissime
Vir, discesurus, valedicerem Rev. Domino de
Dieu, quocum mihi à multo tempore notitiâ intercesse-
rat; Fidei meae commisit suas hæc in Acta Apostolo-
rum Annotationes vobis tradendas. Gratulatus mihi
sum de qualicunque hac occasione ipsi & tibi simul inser-
viendi; aut saltem testandi, erga te præsertim (cujus
Pietatem atque Eruditionem meritis omnes pie docti ve-
nerantur) studium & affectum meum, quo tuam virtu-
tem prosequor: Hanc igitur scribendi ansam nactus
nolui meo vota deesse amplius, quo in tuam aliquando ir-
reperere familiaritatem exoptavi: Multa illa & præclara
optimorum, & nominatim Domini Hartlibii de tuis do-
tibus testimonia, animum meum ad hac vota & desideria
inflammaverunt. Dabis igitur, vir eximie, veniam pro
tua humanitate meo affectui, cuius impulsu hæc scribo,
ut liceat mihi impostero tuo cultui mea studia dedicare;
& prærenata te per literas salutare, siquid dignum tuâ
notitiâ in communibus studiis occurret. Impresensiarum
nihil adhuc ad manum est præter hoc decretum ab Ordini-
bus Imperii factum in negotio Pacis Ecclesiastica meo
rogatu capeßendo: in illo videre poteris quousque divi-
na Clementia meis conatibus præter, & ultra expectatio-
nemnaverit, atque ut illi mecum eo nomine gratias agas
rogo: quæ reliqua in hoc instituto promovendo sunt, &
communicatione digna videbuntur, suo tempore sugge-
rentur; ut siquid ab Eruditione & Prudentiâ tuâ acce-
dere

dere possit ad hanc causam juvandam, id meo quodam jure in Communione Sanctorum postulare & impetrare queam. Vale, Vir mihi maximopere colende: Dabam raptim Londini, 4. Kal. Marr. 1634.

Vestræ Pictatis

Observantissimus,

Iohannes Duraus.

Another Letter of Mr. Hartlib to Mr. Mede,
intimating a learned man of Leyden
his censure *de Clavi Apocalyptica*.

Worthy SIR,

— I have now received a letter from a learned man of Leiden, to whom also I sent your Clavis, who writes thus: Doctissimum Commentarium Apocalyp. coepi legere. Gratulor mihi de talibus scriptis, quorum etsi fides non potest esse certa in omnibus, sunt tamen quorum nomine maximi æstimari debent. Nam 1. Non parum valeat contra Atheos, quorum perversitas prius concinnis ejusmodi delectanda, quàm convincentibus expugnanda. 2. Nec minùs ad erigendos eos qui certitudinis de Religione deliquium patiuntur aliquando, qualis nemo non est. 3. Nec non ad solatium in adversis, nihil enim fortiùs solatur quàm quod certitudinem de Religione Christiana ex habitu in vivum & vegetum actum excitat: At hoc potest Apocalypseos consideratio talis. 4. Quantum in eo situm sit ut evincatur Papam esse

[S 4]

Anti-

Antichristum nemo non novit. At hoc longè fortius persuadetur tali modo quàm per disputationes, saltem disputationes confirmat. 5. Ne dicam quòd multa Scripturæ dicta in hoc Commentario egregiè explicantur, & historiæ profanæ ad pium usum transferuntur: quam postremam ob causam ò quam opto ut lucem videat ejusdem Authoris scriptum, quo Originem Pontificiæ religionis ex Ethnicismo egregiè demonstratam intelligo. Et quidem video cum pag. 116. lin. 7. *Com. Apocalyp.* tale quid citare. Scribe quæso an impressum: Interim velim. D. *Duncus* hunc *Comment. Apoc.* consideret, & judicet, Annon suum interpretandi modum hic Author accuratissimè secutus sit? An igitur audebit dicere hanc Apocalypseos interpretationem & Analasyn esse infallibilem? *Thus you see how our affections of your worthy labours: begin to turn into a true judgement and right value. Yet I should be glad too to spend more of my affections upon you in writing oftner, if many other weighty and publick occasions would give me leave: But I know you will excuse me, and remain confident that I am always*

6. Martii,
1634.

Your very assured and affectionate
friend to serve you,

Sam. Hartlib.

Mr.

Mr. Mede's Answer to Mr. Hartlib, in excuse of himself and his Book.

Worthy Mr. Hartlib,

THanks for your good affection, in rejoycing for that you conceive to tend to my honour. Yet I see not why I should think much better of my self for it. It is the hap of many a Book, that hath no worth in it (as I see daily) to finde applause and entertainment, when a good Book is often scarce taken notice of. Why may not mine then, notwithstanding all this, be of that sort? I confesse it is far better accepted then ever I looked for. This is enough. Yet might it be any furtherance but in the smallest degree, to draw a Prince to our Religion, I should think then I might have cause of glory. But alas! I dare not so much as give such a conceit entertainment.

Howsoever, because you send me abroad, and the Book contains a Paradox, which is but generally and tenderly touched; and not fully explicated: lest I might be reputed in this generality, to be of the same Opinion that *Piscator* and some others are, who avouch a *Millennium Regni*, as I do, but not *apxaiwv*; and so their conceit far differing from mine; I thought not amiss, to send you these enclosed Papers, wherein those that shall study that point, shall finde my opinion competently explicated; at least so far, as may secure them, that I cherish no grosse and groundlesse error. When you have made that use of them you think fit, I would desire

desire you to send me them again, for I have no other Copies, and they are sometimes usefull to me in giving satisfaction. For your excusing your seldome saluting me with your Letters, it needs not; I am sensible of the trouble my self, and therefore most ready to hold others excused. Thus with my best affection, I rest,

Christs Colledge,
March 11. 1634.

Your assured Friend,

Jos. Mede.

Mr. Hartlib's Letter to Mr. Mede, concerning
Dr. Alting's Censure of Mr. Field.

Worthy Sir,

— **B**Ut I return to your Letter, and assure you that I will have a speciall care to send back your Papers: In the mean time, I pray accept of these inclosed which concern the work of Pacification. Mr. Dury remembers his respects unto you, & will be glad to embrace your Letter when ever it comes. He hath not yet read your Book, because he can get none for himselfe, the Book becoming now rare every way. When you have done with the Papers, I pray let me have them again: Some of them I had not leisure to read over. The printed Treatise I got from beyond the Seas: The Authour of it writes thus unto me; *Adfui Doctori Altingo. Is maximo-perè optat non præmissem meo contra Boisavum exercitio istud ex Fieldo excerptum: Ratio. 1^a. Quia falsa sunt quæ ille tum de Orientalium hodierna, tum de Occidentalium ante Lutherum Religione refert.*

2^{da}. Quia

2^{da}. Quia *Lutherani* inde capient calumniandi anſam, quaſi univerſalem aliquam Religionum conciliationem moliamur. Intellexi ſimul hac occaſione *Genevæ* imprimis Novum Teſtamentum lingua Græca qualis nunc eſt, adeo ut non tantum Originale Græcum, ſed & verſionem Græcam ſimul habituri, quam ad rem 1000. Imperiales Domini Ordines dederunt, ut mittantur exemplaria in Græciam. Inter argumenta cur *Fieldi* ſententiam rejicit, eſt quod *Witebergenſis* quidam olim ad Græcum Patriarcham miſerit confeſſionem Auguſtanam ut approbarer, ſed illam ut heterodoxam rejeciſſe. Quod hodiernus Patriarcha alius ſit, id personale eſſe, & facile apparere ex quibus ſcriptis ille hauriat. Sepultus eſt hac hebdomade noſter *Burgersdicius*, &c. *But I would ſain know your judgement about this censure of Field, it being a thing of very great conſequence. Doct̃or Alting I hear is writing an Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Thus expecting your anſwer, I reſt for ever*

London, March 13.

1634.

Your aſſured and affectionate
Friend, *Sam. Hartlib.*

*Mr. Mede's Letter to Mr. Hartlib touching the
Ratio of a Fundamentall Article.*

Mr. Hartlib;

—**Y**OU long you ſay to hear my anſwer to the particulars of your letter: which doe ye mean? I ſuppoſe chiefly that of Fundamentall Articles. But if ſuch great Prelates and learned Doct̃ors

ctors (as you mention) detract the defining of the *Ratio* of a Fundamentall Article, or designing the Number of them, as a matter not only difficult, but inconvenient and dangerous, *Quid ego miser homuncio facerem?* I confesse I am in part guilty of advising Mr. Dury to urge men to think of such a Definition, as a ground to examine the points of difference by, of what nature they are: but I intimated withall, how likely they would be to detract it, and wherefore, namely, lest by that means, they might either declare some darling opinion of their own, not to be fundamentall, and thereby prejudice their own cause; or else exclude out of that number, some Articles formerly determined by the Church, and so incurre a suspision, or be lyable to be upbraided with favouring some condemned heresie.

But what if to avoyd the aforesaid Inconveniences, we should go this way to work; Make two sorts of Fundamentall Articles, Fundamentalls of Salvation, and Fundamentalls of Ecclesiasticall Communion. One, of such as are *necessarii cognitum & creditu ad salutem*, simply and absolutely, and therefore no Christian soul that shall be saved, incapable to understand them. Another, of such as are *necessarii creditu ad communionem Ecclesiasticam*, in regard of the predecision of the Church.

The first, not to be of such Truths as are meerly speculative, and contained only in the understanding; but of such only as have a necessary influence upon practise; and not all those neither, but such as have necessary Influence upon the Act and Function of Christian life, or whereon the Acts with-
out

out which a Christian lives not, necessarily depend.

Such namely, as without the knowledge and beleeif whereof, wee can neither invoke the Father aright, nor have that Faith and relyance upon him and his Son our Mediatour Jesus Christ, which is requisite to remission of sins, and the hope of the life to come.

How far this *Ratio* of a Fundamentall Article will stretch I know not, but believe it will fetch in most of the Articles of the Apostles Creed. And by it also, those two main errors of the *Socinians*, the one denying the Divine Nature; the other, the satisfaction of Christ, may be discerned to be Fundamentall: For without the beleeif of the first, the Divine Majesty cannot be rightly, that is, incommunicably, worshipped, so as to have no other Gods besides him: For he that belieeves not Christ to be consubstantiall with the Father, and yet honours him with the same worship, worships not the Father incommunicably; which is the *Formalis ratio* of the worship of the true God, from whom we look for eternall life. And without the beleeif of the second (the satisfaction of Christ,) there can be (I suppose) no saving Faith or relyance upon Christ for forgiveness of sin. After this manner many other Articles be examined. Thus much of the first sort of Fundamentall Truths, measured by the necessitude they have with those A&S which are required to salvation.

Concerning the second sort of Fundamentals, to wit, necessary *ad communionem Ecclesiasticam*: It is not fit that the Church should admit any to her
com-

communion, which shall professedly deny, or refuse their assent to such Catholick Truths, as she hath anciently declared, by universall Authority, for the Symbol and Badge of such as should have communion with her.

And this sort of Articles without doubt fetcheth a greater compasse, and comprehendeth more then the other; as being ordinate and measured by another end, to wit, of Discipline: and so contains not only such Truths, the knowledg whereof, and assent whereto is necessary unto the Being of Christian life, but also to the well being thereof: and therefore not needfull to be understood of every one distinctly and explicately as the former; but implicitly only, and as far as they shall be capable or have means to come to the knowledge thereof. This is the summe of my thoughts concerning Fundamentals: If I have not expressed my selfe so dilucidely as I should, I pray help it, with some intension of your conceit in the Reading.

For the Book you speak of, I like it not; I knew by hear-say much of the Authour and his condition, some years before the High Commission took notice of him, and wondred he escaped so long: For in every company he came, he took an intolerable liberty of Invectives and contumelies against the Ecclesiasticall state, when no occasion was offered him. Such Books as these never did good in our Church, and have been as disadvantageous to their party who vent them, as they have bin prejudicious to the common cause. I durst almost affirm, that the alienation which appears in our Church of late from the rest of the

the Reformed, hath grown for a great part, from such intemperancy and indiscretion as this is, and will be still increased more and more, if those who seem to be the chiefe favourers of them, goe on in this manner.

He hath too ready a faculty in expressing himself with his pen, unlesse he would employ it better: For who can excuse him from a malignant disposition towards his own Mother, thus to publish her faults in Latine, of purpose to discover her shame to strangers, and to call her Sisters to see it, as *Cham* did his Brothers? Think what kinde of crime it is, for a man that is *Civis* and a Member, to traduce the Rulers of his people among forainers; and what little good affection they are like to expect from ours, who are made partisans in such a kinde.

Thus with my best affection I rest, and am

Christis Colledge,
Febr. 6.

Your assured Friend,

Jos. Mede.

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Mr. Hartlib, resolving that
the Roman and Greek Church hath not erred
in the Fundamentall Articles
of the Faith.*

Mr. Hartlib,

I Received not your Packet till yesterday at dinner time, I send with the inclosed a Book to Mr. Dury, which I was fain to rob a friend of, promising to give him another as good: but I send the Book and this

this my Letter apart, that the one may bring newes of the other, if they should chance not to arrive at your hands together.

I thank you for Mr. *Streso*: Concerning that of Dr. *Field*, I have hitherto subscribed to it, according as I conceived it to be his meaning; though whether the particulars of his narration be every one of them true, I cannot affirm: the most I beleieve are. But it is no marvell, though such a Tenet make your forain Divines to startle: That notion is almost proper to our *English* to maintain that the *Roman* Church, much more the *Greek*, erreth not in *primariis & fundamentalibus fidei Articulis*, because explicately they professe them, howsoever by their *Assumenta* implicately and by consequent they subvert them. This your forain Divines, and some two of our own, think to be an hard assertion, because they rightly conceive not our meaning: whereof you may be more fully informed by Dr. *Craken-thorp* against *Spalato*, cap. 47. and by Dr. *Potter* in his *Charity mistaken*. You may remember also that Bishop *Davenant* (in the discourse you shewed me at *London*) by the name of Fundamentall Articles, understands the Articles of the Creed of all Christians, and no other. Take notice likewise that we say the *Roman* Church and ours differ not in the Articles we account to be fundamentall: not that we differ not, and mainly too, in those which they account fundamentall: Nor doe we say but by consequent, they ruine too even those Articles we account fundamentall, though explicately they professe them. In a word, we hold that all the *Roman* Errors

Errors consist in the *Assumenta* they have added to the foundation, and not in the foundation it selfe, which they professe notwithstanding.

Besides, that in the main points of controversie between them & us, the Truths we affirm against them, were heretofore freely maintained in their Church, as for the substance, from time to time; and though for the most part the opposite Faction overtopped them, yet were not the Tenets of that Faction, made the Tenets of their Church, till the Councell of *Trent* decreed them, and condemned the other.

This is the summe of the Tenet of ours; but what do I write of these things in so tumultuary a manner? It is a point, that requires a man should have his braines at home.

What though the Patriarch *Jeremy* rejected the Augustane Confession for Heterodox when it was sent him? It is true, that often one Sect of Religion condemns that in another, which it self affirms, because it understands not its own in anothers terms, and after another way. Besides, though the Patriarch rejected the Confession in grosse, yet it followes not, he rejected it for those points whereof *Dr. Field* affirms; but because it condemned likewise their *Assumenta*: For it is certain, that in the *Assumentis*, we differ mainly from them, and they from us. But I must make an end; and so with my best affection, I rest

Christ's Coll. March 18.

1634.

Your assured Friend,

Jos. Mede.

[T t]

• Mr.

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Mr. Dury's Letter, excusing
his not entermeddling with his Designe.*

Doctissime & Ornatissime Vir,

Dutius factum est, cum tuas literas accepi nec respondi: In causa fuit, quòd librum ad me à clarissimo viro Domino *Lud. de Dieu* missum, Vehicularii incuriâ ante superiorem septimanam non acceperim: tunc autem cum scribendum esset, aliis occupationibus & scriptiunculis adeo distinebar, ut vel tantillum otii & temporis huic officio non suppetere.

Duplici verò beneficio me affecit vir clarissimus doctissimusque & omni laude superior Dominus *Ludovicus de Dieu*, tum quòd eruditissimi libri sui munere me honorare voluerit; tum quòd unâ eademque operâ, quasi tesserâ quadam in manus traditâ, mihi ad amicitiam tuam viam patefecerit: Viri, quem verè heroicum illud religiosæ pacis procurandæ studium mihi jamdudum & omnibus bonis amabilem reddiderat; Deo quinetiam charum & acceptum. Maçte, vir beatissime, (talem enim te Christus ipse pronunciat) hoc animo, hac virtute! Utinam autem ita ferret conditio mea, essémque porro ab ingenio & prudentia satis instructus, ut tibi in tam sancto munere inservirem. Nunc verò illud, ultra quam voto & commendatione non licet. Nos enim hîc (ut scias) qui inferioris subsellii sumus, ab aliorum pendemus arbitrio, neque sine illorum nutu aut ductu in talibus quicquam audemus; alioquin factiosi & inordinati ingenii notam incursum; nullo, mihi crede, siquis eo maculetur, oceano eluendam.

est

Est & aliud offendiculum, quod te non celabo, quo Nostratium quorundam animos, alioquin rectos, deterreri & retardari suspicor, quo minus voluntatem suam tam liberè & apertè in hac causa profiteantur: nempe quòd aliorum remeritate, aliorum malitià factum animadvertunt, ut quo quis in exteras Ecclesias prioniorem se ostendat, eo statim à nostra habeatur alienior. Audisti Satanæ Stratagema, quo tam pulchro & pio incepto remoram objicere conatur. Hinc conjice, in suffragiis ad rem istam colligendis quantà cautelâ & judicio opus sit.

Meipsum quod attinet, scias velim, me summis animi votis Ecclesiarum pacem & concordiam exoptare, tibi que eo nomine, & sanctissimis tuis conatibus impensè favere, & quâ licet, promovere velle. Dextram verò amicitiae (quam tam benignè obtulisti & vicissim postulas) en tibi eam jam nunc porrigo, inque affectûs mei testimonium scriptum hoc quaecunque meum in *Apoc.* dono mitto; minime illud ei par, quod mihi à doctissimo, & (quod ex literis ejus cognovi) amicissimo tibi viro ferendum accepisti: Rogo tamen ut æqui bonique consuleres, quod ab homine, cui angusta est eruditionis supellex, proficisci potuit.

Nolim enim te ex Domini *Hartlibii* & aliorum amicorum de me judiciis qui ex hoc scripto (quod immane quanto labore mihi constitit) vires meas æstimant, in errorem abduci. Non sum profectò quem illi me existimant, sed in quo omnia mediocria sunt, ne dicam tenuia, multis eruditionis præsidiiis destitutum esse, præsertim (quod maximè angit) cogitata mentis, sive sermone, sive scripto apud alios facilè & ex-

pedite proferendi facultatem à natura denegatam habere, ut nullo modo sim amicorum de me judiciùs & expectationi responsurus. Mihi de meipso crede, ne de novo amico nimium fortè sis tibi gratulaturus.

Plura non addo, nisi ut faveat sanctissimis tuis inceptis benignus Deus, tèque diu incolumem servet, Ecclesiæ & Reipublicæ Christianæ bono. Ita vovet

*E Collegio Christi Cantabrig.
18. Martii. 1634.*

Nominis tui studiosissimus

Jos. Medus.

Master Dury his second Letter to Mr. Mede,
touching the manner of his Address
and Treaties, with those of the
Batavian Churches.

Gratiam & Pacem.

Clarissime & Doctissime Vir,

Humanissimis tuis literis, & præclaro illo, quod
amicitia mecum inita pignus esse voluisti, scripto,
cujus priorem ante aliquot annos, posteriorem nunc pri-
mum video partem, ita animum meum affecisti, ut suffici-
entes neque jam scribere, neque posthac habere gratias
queam, quas quia me referre posse despero, ideo debitorem
me tibi agnosco. Sed ante omnia candorem tuum exoscul-
lor, quo de tuo erga mea qualiacunque in Pacis causâ stu-
dia affectu certiore reddis; deque cautelâ in colligendis
Ecclesiastica pacis suffragiis adhibendâ prudenter mones:
Nihil præter debitum officii erga superiores respectum à
quoquam exigendum; Nihil in seipsis cujusque ordinis pri-
moribus promiscuè proponendum; Nihil privatis temerè

in

in publico negotio, nihil extra ordinem aggrediendum. Me quod attinet, semper ita cogitavi, attamen nescio quibus adductus tandem fidiculis, hoc in me onus susceperim; aliquid ab aliorum provocatione, aliquid à meâ vel simplicitate vel temeritate fateor profectum est: certè in hoc mihi conscientia præbet testimonium, nihil à me hæcenus quaesitum quod vel me ipsum vel meâ, sed tantum quod publicum aliorum commodum spectaret: ab omnium partium legibus & dominio solutus, omnium me servum exhibui quoad potui, neque mihi aut ab eruditione aut rerum experientiâ singulari, animus ad hac molimina satis instructus, vires & fiduciam sibi sumpsit: sed invictâ potius quadam propensitate delatus est in hunc impetum, ut experiretur, quid in præjudiciis animorum inter partes tollendis præstari divinâ benedictione posset, à privatâ industriâ; & quid apud alios in tam sanctâ causâ juvanda promptitudinis futurum esset. Siquid præter spem, non tamen ultra votû accidit, Deo qui corda hominum regit, & abjectis sæpe utitur ad gloriae suæ manifestationem instrumentis, laus tribuenda est; de cætero quid impofteram mihi conandum incertus sum: Extra spheram hanc privata vocationis Theologicae me trahi non facile patiar, atque ideo quoniam res jam paulatim vergit ad publicam tractationem, nihil aliud mihi propono, quàm ut propensam hanc animorum inclinationem in tempus usque præstituti conventus fovere annitar, & occasionibus sim intentus quibus Belgarum (siquidem haberi facile potest) publicus in hoc concilio consensus obtineatur. Vidisti jam ex narratiunculâ à Domino Hartlibio missâ quid apud Ecclesias Batavicas transactum sit. Tua singularis prudentia & mihi rem gratam & suâ humanitate dignam fecerit, si non gravetur

[T: 3]

suum

suum de meis illis conatibus iudicium exponere : an scilicet nimiam parrhesiam peccatum non fuerit ? quantum nobis liceat ab illis Ecclesiis expectare ? Et qua ratione posthac (quoniam de responso Synodico jam sollicitus sum) siue non concedant , siue concedant meis postulatis , causa hac cum illis tractanda est ? Certum mihi est per Dei gratiam , nihil agere quod animorum irritationi aut iusta suspicioni praeberet occasionem : Pacis enim studia cum omni lenitate , humilitate & patientia pacifice sunt tractanda : neque privato mihi aut expedire , aut licitum esse iudico , à quoquam efflagitare vel importunius extorquere velle quidquam , quod non sua sponte , conscientia duce , charitate comite quilibet prestare paratus sit : Hac lege tecum , clarissime & spectatissime Vir , familiariter agam , ut cuique nostrum liceat suo jure uti , liberè & loqui & tacere . Ita divina gratia te tuaque studia animitus commendo : Vale , & favore tuo amplectere illum , qui est

Westmonasterii,
9. Kal. Apr.
1635.

Pietati tuae addictissimus,

Iohannes Duraus.

Mr.

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Mr. Hartlib, excusing his
passing judgement on Mr. Dury's
Address, &c.*

Mr. Hartlib,

I Received yours on Saturday, with the Copy enclosed, and Mr. *Dury's* courteous Letter. To which yet I doubt I shall make no answer; but use the liberty he there vouchsafes me; *Ut cuique nostrum liceat suo jure uti, liberè & loqui & tacere*: For he desires me to give my judgement of his manner of address and Treaties with those of the *Batavian* Churches: what may be expected from them, and what course were best to be taken in case they grant or deny. But what were this, but for *Phormio* to teach *Hannibal* stratagems of war? *Ego verò ita usu rerum non valeo, ut hoc vel cogitare audeam, nedum scribere*. For the place I live in, I could perhaps tell something; but the condition of those Churches and their humors, I know not farther then by hearsay; and much of that too, I learned by the Papers you last sent me. And for my part, *rebus sic stantibus*, I cannot conceive any way better then what Mr. *Dury* there relates he took; whose wisdom and ability therein, I am fitter to receive knowledge and information by, then to censure or give direction unto. And in particular methinks, the deferring of them to the last, and not dealing with them till all other Churches had declared themselves, will, if any thing, bring them off, at least in some degree, to shew their concurrence. For in such a case singu-

[T t 4]

larity

larity cannot be without a blur; which perhaps they will consider, though their home-contentions have made them, I believe resty enough. But Lord! is there any hope of a Pacification, whilst each party studies to maintaine their advantage against the other entire? A Joyner cannot set two peeces of Timber together, without paring something from either. I pray remember me most kindly to Mr. Dury.

I send herewith the Copy of his Epistle *ad Batos*; which I shewed onely to Dr. S. to whom I had communicated the former: Dr. W. and the rest are from home this *Easter* time, and I thought not fit to keep it till their returne. — Thus in haste with my affection and Prayers, I rest

Christ's Colledge,
April. 1. 1635.

Your assured friend,
Joseph Mede.

*Another Letter of Mr. Mede's to Mr. Hartlib,
shewing his Reasons why he refused to declare
himselfe concerning the Acta Lipsiaca.*

Worthy Mr. Hartlib,

— I T grieve's me not a little, yea perplexes me, to heare that Mr. Dury is come off with no better success. — I am loth *malè augurari*; but I like it not. I feare it is *malè ominis*, and that our State and Church hath no minde to put their hand to this work: *Deus avertat omen*. But our Church you know, goes upon differing principles from the rest
of

of the reformed, and so steeres her course by another rule then they doe. We look after the Form, Rites, and Discipline of Antiquity, and endeavor to bring our own, as neere as we can, to that pattern. We suppose the Reformed Churches have departed farther there-from then needed, and so we are not very solicitous to comply with them; yea we are jealous of such of our own, as we see over zealously addicted to them, lest it be a signe, they prefer them before their Mother. This I suppose, you have observ'd, and that this disposition in our Church is of late very much increased. Well then; if this union sought after, be like to further and advantage us in the way we affect, we shall listen to it. If it be like to be prejudiciall; as namely to give strength and authority to those amongst us, who are enamour'd with the foraine platforme; or bring a yoke upon our own, by limiting and making us obnoxious; wee'l stand aloof and not meddle with it, lest we infringe our liberty. This I have alwayes feared would be no small *Remora* on our part, and I pray God, it may fall out beyond my expectation.

Now for my selfe; The *Acta Lipsiaca* I never saw; nor did I finde the extract you mentioned in your letter; I suppose it was forgotten when you seal'd.

But I am afraid, you have made Mr. *Dury* take me for another man then I am: I pray therefore, let him know, that I am a private man, one that the Church never took notice of, having no place or dignity in the same, nor any condition or means of living but a poor Fellowship, not known to any of the

the greater Clergy, nor acquainted with those that are of note in any speciall manner ; in a word, one of the ἐξουθενήμενοι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, as Saint Paul speakes : and therefore see not, how my verdict should be of any moment in this cause.

Secondly, I live in the University, where we move only *ad motum primi mobilis*, and that discretion is expected at our hands, who are of the Inferior Orbs, as not to move without our Superiors. If any one transgress this rule, and offer to meddle in ought that concernes the Publick, before the State and those in place declare themselves, he is taken notice of for Factious and a Busie-body ; and if he be once thus branded, all the water of the *Thames* will not wash him clean, if it be objected to his prejudice, though many yeers after, as we see by daily experience, and of late in some private University-busines. For this cause, I am afraid, Mr. *Dury* will find our University men more shy and nice then others, now the State and Church hath refused to declare, and give such encouragement to the busines as was expected.

Thirdly, That for my selfe, I am so far inclinable to peace, that I can yeeld to a Christian Communion, at as great a distance of Opinions, as any Protestant whatsoever. For I hold Communion is not to be broken, but for Fundamentals : Of which kind I take none of the differences between the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans* to be. Yet am I not so well versed in the subtleties of those controversies, as I think fit to adventure my judgement to the publick view, by an examination, and censure of particulars, wherein my

my unskilfulness would too soon appear. Nor do I think this union, which every true Christian ought so much to desire, will ever be brought to pass by a full decision of the Controversies; but only by abating of that vast distance which contention hath made, and approaching the differences so neer, as either party may be induced to tolerate the other, and acknowledge them for Brethren and Members of the same Body.

To Mr. *Durys* request therefore, I answer; that if Dr. *W.* here, or Dr. *P.* at *Oxford* think fit to declare themselves concerning the *Acta Lipsiaca*; when I have seen either, I shall not be unwilling to give my generall suffrage with reference unto theirs. But to go farther then thus, the reasons above mentioned will deter me.

Thus hoping to receive the extract you mention, with your next; and praying Almighty God to remove all obstacles, and to afford Mr. *Dury* all means of success in this so holy a business, I rest

Christ's Coll:

9. April.

1635.

Your assured friend,
Jof. Mede.

Another Letter of Mr. *Dury* to Mr. *Mede*, representing the heads of his designe, for a Pacification among the reformed Churches.

Gratiam & Pacem.

I Am in procinctu sum, Reverende Vir, ut in Belgium iter faciam; Valedixi Domino Archiepiscopo Cant. & amicis

amicis in Aula, & in eo sum ut & ceteris valedicam; Tu mihi praeireundus non eras, cujus non ita pridem humanitatem prolixè expertus sum: Dici non potest quàm grata tua apud me hareat & harebit conversationis memoria; quoties enim sermonis tui doctissimi, prudentissimi & utilissimi capita, apud animum, quod fit multisies, revolve, fateor nullam mihi a multis annis horulam tam fructuosè, tam jucundè effluxisse, quam illa fuit, qua tuo usus sum consortio. Nunc brevibus accipe itineris mei scopum. In Belgio nihil urgebo, nihil instanter affectabo, præter id quod sponte sua facturi sunt nihil postulabo; id quicquid futurum est in Ecclesia Germanica commodum convertetur. Sed apud Germanos hac mihi erunt proposita suasionis & tractationis capita.

1. Decreto ab Ordinibus factò contineri saluberimum componendis Ecclesiæ dissidiis consilium.

2. Ad hujus Decreti executionem pro viribus promovendam omnes Magistratus & Theologos junctis suffragis, studiis & conatibus, teneri in conscientia: atque idcò conventûs indictionem non ulterius differendam.

3. In Conventu hoc ad abolitionem schismatis indicendo opinionum minutias, & difficultates Scholasticarum controversiarum spinosas resecandas a Pacis tractatu; neque de aliis capitibus disputandum sed explicandum quid utrinque receptum, & in confesso est.

4. Concordiam in Ecclesiâ primitivâ Symbolicâ, & Christiana Religionis fundamentali veritate; atque in ea fraternitatis contesserationem certis canonibus Ecclesiasticis esse confirmandam.

5. Symbolicam veritatem illam quæ continetur Apostolico, & explicatur Athanasiano Symbolo; & quæ confirmata fuit in Nicæno, Ephesino primo, Constantinopolitano,

itano, Chalcedonensi, Milevitano, & Arausicano contra Pelagianos conciliis, quibuscum confessiones Protestantium & inter se harmonicè, & subordinatè cum sacra Scripturâ consentiant, per se solam ad animarum salutem sufficere iis, qui ex Verbo Dei in Fidei simplicitate illam haurientes, de cetero voluntati ejus sine admixtione cultûs Idololatrici obediunt.

6. Omnes extra hunc Fidei tenorem scholarum controversias in utramque partem salva Charitate inter Doctos agitari; a simplicioribus tuto & utiliter ignorari, atque ideo pro concione nequaquam contentiosè tractari debere: atque hoc Patribus Ecclesiæ Primitivæ in more positum fuisse constat.

7. Causas Schismatum & inextricabilium in Ecclesiâ Christiana confusionum oriri hoc sæculo, partim ex neglectis rerum fundamentalium & non fundamentalium in Fide & Praxi limitibus; partim ex nimis curiosâ mysteriorum perscrutatione, & promiscua privatarum de iis opinionum evulgatione; partim ex spreto antiquitatis primævæ de sacra Scripturæ sensu judicio; partim ex præpostero & amarulento refutandi potius alienam sententiam, quam inoffenso veritatem ex proprio sensu explicandi studio; partim ex usurpatâ unius in alterius conscientiam & intellectum tyrannica definiendi potestate & censura; partim ex amissa pristina disciplina regula; partim denique ex neglectis Sanctæ Communionis officiis, fraternæque Communicationis inter Ecclesias distinctas sopitis super mutua in rebus Spiritualibus adificatione affectibus. Hinc abortam opinionum & rituum omnimodam diversitatem; inde multiformem Ecclesiarum in fidei fundamento alioquin consentientium faciem emicuisse; hæc rerum imperitis æstimatoribus speciem contrarietatis

*Mr. Mede's Answer to Mr. Dury's second Letter,
touching his design for a Pacification.*

IMò verò, Reverende & Ornatissime Vir, me potius nimiae & inusetae loquacitatis meae veniam petere decuit, quam hanc gratiam à te reportare. Poenitebat fateor, & pudebat, postquam tu discesseras, & ego me recolueram, dissertationis apud te tam tumultuariæ, & nusquam coherentis. Sed miræ tu humanitatis homo es, qui etiam Amicorum errores & vitia in gratiæ & amoris argumentum vertis.

Tuas ad Dominum Doctorem *Wardum* ipse propriis meis manibus reddidi, sed negotiosum reperi; ut solet, Comitibus Academicis instantibus. Has quas vides, mitto tua cura ad Dominum *Ludovicum de Dieu* perferendas.

Perlegi, & consideravi, diligenter Tractationis tuæ futuræ capita & scopum; in quibus omnia mirificè probo, neque in mentem mihi venit quicquam quod addi vellem. Nihil enim desiderari videtur. Et certè non erat, ut ab eo qui rerum usum non habet, multum expectes: votum tamen quoddam meum tibi aperiàm.

In Articulos fundamentales optarim equidem fieri posse, ut paulò altius inquireretur, utque non enumeratione sola, (quod hucusque factum) sed Rei ipsius definitione aliquid statuatur; quâ nempe ostenderetur, in quo demùm Articuli fundamentalis ratio & natura sita sit. Admodùm enim dignum est consideratione, neminem ferè nostrorum reperiri, qui hac in parte quidquam decernere ausus fuit, imò

ne

ne aggredi quidem : cum tamen ab ejusmodi aliquo ~~neque~~ omne de Articulis fundamentalibus , & non fundamentalibus judicium pendere , necesse est. Ratio in aperto est, cavet quisque suæ sectæ placitis, metuitque ne dogmata sua hoc pacto è fundamentalium numero excidisse videantur. Hoc enim partium studiis in religione innatum est , ut dogmata pro quibus cum parte adversa contendunt, fundamentalium numero omninò inferi vellent , saltem non ex professo eliminari. Cavent etiam prudentiores , ne mitiori fortè errorum censurâ , damnatæ alicui sectæ aut hæresi patrocinari aut favere viderentur.

Sed quoniam exigua est spes, fore, ut in hac parte quicquam communibus suffragiis unquam definia-
tur : ideo fortè priscae Ecclesiæ ejusque symbolis acquiescendum. Certum enim est , qui tunc fundamentalis Articulus non fuerit , neque hodiè haberi debere.

Hæc habui , nec quid amplius, vir clarissime, quæ ad tuas responderem. Jam illud solum restat, ut votis te abeuntem prosequar, Deumque venerer, ut scopo tuo piissimo benignus adesse velit , te ubicunque terrarum protegat , & conatibus tuis felicem successum largiatur. Ita vovet

Dignitatis tuæ studiosissimus,

Jos. Medus.

Mr.

Mr. Mede's Letter to Ludovicus de Dieu,
touching corruption of the Hebr. Text.

Reverende & clarissime vir,

Duplici me beneficio affecisti, tum quòd libri tui eruditissimi munere me ornare volueris, tum quòd unâ eadêmque operâ, quasi tesserâ quadam in manus traditâ, mihi ad Domini Johannis Duræi amicitiam viam patefeceris; viri, quem verè heroicum illud Religiosæ pacis procurandæ studium mihi dudum & omnibus bonis amabilem reddiderat: hæc verò occasio primùm de facie notum, & in interiorem familiaritatem acceptum; utroque hoc nomine, vir clarissime, gratias tibi ago meritissimas, inprimis ob ἀντίδωρον tuum tam præclarum & omnimodâ eruditione refertum, cuique meum δῶρον (quicquid tu dixeris) nullatenus conferri potest: imò videor liberalitate istac meâ omninò scœnus exercuisse, & quæstum fecisse, si fas dicere, improbissimum.

De mendis autem & corruptione * textûs Hæbraici, non est mihi tecum in eâ causâ reciprocandi animus: Fateor enim ultrò, hîc, si usquam alibi, cautè & religiosè agendum, imò & sentiendum. Interim tamen malletm mendum alicubi agnoscere, quàm in inexplicabilem difficultatum Labyrinthum compelli, unde me haud expedirem, nisi absurdiuscula quæque & multò minùs verisimilia (pro ut nonnunquam ab aliis factum video) comminisci vellem: unum tantùm aut alterum in responsione tuâ notabo. Primum quod in collatione historiar,

[V u]

2 Reg.

* Vid. supra, Mr. Mede's Answer touching corruption crept into the sacred Text.

argumento est, quòd totam pericopen aliis fere verbis enunciet.

Hæ sunt vir clarissime quæ eruditissimis tuis (quas tanquam καίμηλιον aliquod apud me servare decrevi) reponenda duxi, nec plura: Deus Opt. Max. eruditissimos tuos conatus ad Reipublicæ literariæ emolumentum, & nominis sui gloriam indices magis magisque provehat, teque quam diutissime incolumem servet. Ita vovet

*Reverentia & Dignitatis tue
studiofissimus.*

*Another of Mr. Mede's Letters to Mr. Hartlib, giving
his Opinion touching Mr. Streso's Book, and
distinguishing of Fundamentals.*

Mr. Hartlib,

I Read over your *Streso* with some attention, and finde many learned and considerable passages and discourses therein: But for my Animadversions which you look for, it were against my *Genius*; for I am one that had rather give my opinion by much (though the world hath taught me even there to be somewhat nice,) then censure another mans. But in generall, I conceive his way to be somewhat ambiguous and intricate, more then needs.

He distinguisheth three sorts of Fundamentals: One, he calls *Fundamentum ipsum*: The other two he measures by their relation to it, either *à parte ante*, and such he terms *sub-fundamentales*; or *à parte post*, which may be called *super-fundamentales*. The one, of such Truths, *quæ substernuntur fundamento*;

[V u 2]

The

The other, such as follow by immediate consequence from the same. This I take to be the summe of his opinion.

Now for that which is his *Fundamentum ipsum* or κατ' ἐξοχην, I make no doubt but the acknowledgement of the Truth thereof is fundamentall *ad salutem*: So I believe also are his *ante* or *sub-fundamentals*, though the most of them not proper to Christianity, but common to it with Judaisme. For the Church of the Gospel is built or grafted upon the Jewish, the common foundation remaining the same in both. But as for the third sort of Fundamentals, or *super-fundamentals*, which he makes such as are by immediate or necessary consequence deducible from the *Fundamentum salutis*; I make some question, whether all such are *necessaria cognitu & creditu ad salutem* simply: First, because the necessity of such consequence may not be apprehended by all who hold the *Fundamentum*. Secondly, Because I am not yet perswaded, that to deny or be ignorant of a Truth which is meerly speculative (such as some of these consequences may be) is damnable; but onely of such Truths, the knowledge and acknowledgement whereof hath necessary connexion with some practicall requisite unto salvation. I mean, whercon depends necessarily the acquiring of some Act necessary, or the avoyding of some Act repugnant to salvation.

So that still, it seems to me, the readiest and easiest way for resolution in this matter is; To enquire and examine what those Acts are, wherein consists our Spirituall life, or that union and fellowship

lowship which we have with the Father, and his Son our Mediator Jesus Christ. That which is *Necessarium cognitu & creditu*, unto these, is fundamentall *ad salutem*; *id est*, *cujus agnitioni salus tanquam Fundamento innititur*: That which is not so, is not fundamentall *ad salutem*. For example; *He that comes unto God* (saith S. Paul) *must beleeve that God is*: So likewise he that comes unto Christ, or unto the Father by him (as every one must doe that will be saved) must believe that Christ is, and that he is constituted the Mediator between God and us. He that comes unto, and relies upon Christ for remission of sinne, must beleeve that Christ suffered, and was offered a sacrifice for the sins of men, and thereby purchased that power to conferre Remission unto all that should repent and believe in his Name. He that bids farewell to sin, and savingly buckles to the works of a new life, must beleeve, *There is a life to come*, and a Day, wherein God by the Man he hath ordained shall judge both the quick and dead, and give unto every one according to his work. According to that of S. Paul, *Act. 24. 15, 16. I have hope towards God, that there shall be a Resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust*, * For this cause doe I exercise my selfe to have alwayes a conscience voyd of offence toward God, and toward men. According to these examples, you may examine more.

* So should
 οὐκ ἔστω
 δε be rendered,
 not
 in hoc, nor
 in hac re,

as the Vulg. and Erasmus: nor interea with Beza, but with the Syriack and Arabick; propterea. Hebraismus est, ubi *in*, saepe valet propter.

The difference between Mr. Streso's way and mine is this: He measures his Fundamentals by their relation to one *Fundamentum*: I measure all

[V u 3]

by

by the relation they have to eternall life, in regard of those Acts and dispositions, whereby we are capable thereof.

Take this similitude; In a creature endued with animall life, are many Members or Organs, whereof though none can be wanting, hurt or wounded without some deformity, defect or detriment to the whole; yet all are not essentiall to the life of the Body, but such onely from whence those Faculties and Functions flow, whereon life necessarily depends, such as are, *Respiratio*, *Nutritio*, *Gustus*, *Tactus*, *Pulsus*, *Somnus*, and the like: Therefore the Organs whereon these depend, can neither be wanting, nor notoriously hurt or wounded, but the Body presently dyeth. Without Legs, Arms, Tongue, Eyes, Eares, Nose, a Man may live, though a most pitifull, ugly, and loathsome spectacle, and more fit for the spittle, then the publick society of men: But without Head, Heart, Lungs, Stomach, and the like, he cannot; namely because these Members, and the sound, good temper of them in some degree, are necessary to those faculties and functions, which are requisite unto life. Apply this, and improve it by your Meditation. *Vale.*

February 27.

Yours,

Jos. Mede.

Two

*Two Letters more of Mr. Mede to Mr. Hartlib
touching the defining of Fundamental
Articles.*

Mr. Hartlib,

I Have received yours. It seems strange to me that men should hold, that those who erre in Fundamentals cannot be saved, and yet maintaine it scarce possible to set downe the *ratio* of a fundamentall Article, or any *κρίσις* whereby to know them.

What though *Fundamentum & fundamentalia* be metaphoricall terms, yet may they soon be turned into proper ones; namely, *Articuli cogniti & crediti necessarij ad salutem*. Here is no Metaphor: whether therefore may there any *Ratio* or *κρίσις* be given to discern these?

I beleeeve not that Canon of the Councell of *Ephesus*, intended to prescribe to any other Council of like Authority, not to explicate or improve the Creed of *Nice*, as they did that of the Apostles, but that no private Bishop should compose any other *Formula fidei*, to be a Rule and *Symbolum* of Communion, then that of *Nice*.

Thus with my Prayers and best affection, I remain

*Christ's Colledg
ult. Jul. 1637.*

*Your assured friend,
Jof. Mede.*

The second Letter about the same Subject.

Mr. Hartlib,

YOU wish I had declared my selfe more largely : But what needed it : you had the substance of all I had to say : But if you would have it more fully ; then thus :

1. By Fundamentall Articles in this inquiry , we mean such as are *Necessarii cognitu & creditu ad salutem* ; that is , *Fundamenta Salutis* , Fundamentall to Salvation ; Not *Fundamenta Theologicarum Veritatum* ; Principles whence Theologicall Verities are deduced. For these, though they may be sometimes coincident, are not the same.

2. What then though the Term *Fundamentall* be Metaphoricall and improper ? yet we see it may easily (if we understand our own meaning) be expressed in cleer and proper terms. And therefore this can be no impediment to the finding or defining the *Ratio* of such Articles, whereby they may be known and distinguished from others.

3. And what though the whole Scripture be *Fundamentum* , or *Principium Veritatum Theologicarum* , or *dogmatum fidei* ? Yet is not every content in Scripture necessary to be known and beleaved explicitly unto Salvation ; and therefore this Notion of *Fundamentum* nothing to the purpose. Since as I said *Principia Theologica* , or *Fundamentalia dogmatum* , & *Fundamentalia Salutis* , are not the same ; but differ formally, though some of them may be materially coincident.

4. But the Definition of such Fundamentall Articles

ticles would be dangerous, inconvenient and subject to much reprehension; yea in respect of the diversity of mens judgements is in a manner impossible. This me thinks is very strange; that any who acknowledge there be some Truths necessary to be known and explicitly beleaved unto salvation, should yet deny there can be any *Ratio* or Character given, whereby to know them: yea affirm it to be unsafe to determine any such, if it might be found, or that any enumeration of such Articles should be made. What? cannot or may not those Truths be defined and known, without an explicite beleeve, whereof we cannot be saved? what will follow upon this?

Neither when we speak of *defining* here, do we mean any such matter, as the *ἀκριβεία* or exactness of a Logical definition (which might entangle us in School-niceties and janglings,) but any description or designation of that *Ratio* or distinguishing Character, whereby such Truths, as are *cognita & creditu necessaria ad salutem*, might be known from others. And this sure might be done without any such engagement in logical Scrupulosity.

5. As for the objection of the Canon of the Oecumenicall Councell of *Ephesus*: certainly that Councell never intended to restrain the power of any Council or other publick Ecclesiasticall Authority like it selfe; but onely private Persons, from attempting to make any such Creed, *formula*, or confession of Faith, besides that of *Nice*. This I suppose may be gathered from those words, *Si Episcopi, &c. Si Clerici, &c. Si Laici, &c.* and the censure

Conc. Ephes.
1. Can. 7.

sure to be laid upon them. Nor does it seem simply and altogether to forbid them neither, to compose any such for private Instruction or Use; but only for a publick intent, to be tendered as a Form of Confession of faith to Pagans or Jewes at their Baptism, or to Heretikes, when they were again received into the Church.

For why should not the Churches now, aswell as then, have the like power, upon the like occasion, further to explicate, or make more explicite the former Symboles of Faith, as the Councell of *Nice* did that of the Apostles, yea or any Church or Churches that are, or would be of the same Communion, to do it for themselves? For then we know the Churches were all of one Communion, now they are not; and therefore may provide for themselves according to their condition.

Besides, how came the Creed of *Athanasius* to be since publicly received in the Church; or the Councell of *Chalcedon*, after this of *Ephesus*, to make a new exposition of faith (unless this Canon were understood as aforesaid,) since neither of them are the same with that of *Nice*? Or how could the Reformed Churches make such publick Confessions for themselves, as they have done?

Thus I think I have declared my self largely enough now; and perhaps more largely then befitted me, when I consider to whom it hath reference. But my hope is, you will conceal the Authors name from any man, and not reveal it save to Mr. *Dury* alone: And so with my best affection, I remain

Your assured friend, J. M.
Another

*Another Letter of Mr. Medes to Mr. Hartlib,
about discerning Fundamentall Articles.*

Mr. Hartlib,

WHEN I read over Mr. Dury's Consultation (before his discourse *ad Dominum Forbesium* came to my hands) I perceived, he aymed at the self-same ground for the discovery and discerning of Fundamentall verities from not Fundamentall, that I had formerly done in mine to you; though in a differing way of expression, as men that conceive apart, are wont to do. I made them to be such Truths as have necessary influence upon the Acts and functions of Christian life; or without the explicate knowledge whereof, those Acts and Functions cannot be exercised. He goes further and specifies, wherein this Christian life consisteth: namely, as naturall life consists in the conjunction of the soul with the Body; so doth spirituall life in the conjunction of men with God, that is, in being in Covenant with him. All those verities therefore, the knowledge and beleef whereof is necessary to the acts and functions requisite to the being and continuation in the Covenant with God in Jesus Christ, are Fundamentall Verities, without the explicate knowledge and beleef of which a man cannot be saved.

But for the framing or composing such a Fundamentall Confession as is sought for; let me discover my Opinion, Fancy, or whatsoever it be. I observe, that the Confessions or Creeds of the
Ancient

Ancient Church (which were their Symbols of Communion) were alwayes the former Creeds or Confessions enlarged with such further additions or explanations subjoyned to the former Articles respectively, as the Heresies of the Times made requisite for the distinction of Orthodox Belcevers. So the *Nicene* Creed was the Creed of the Apostles, enlarged in the Articles of the Father and Son, and one or two other. The Creed of *Constantinople* added to the Article of the Holy Ghost in that of *Nice* those words, *The Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son] who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified,* against *Macedonius*. This is the Creed we say at the Communion in our Church. That of *Athanasius* yet more enlarges that of *Nice*, as doth that of *Chalcedon* also the Article of the Son, against *Eutyches*.

Were it not fit therefore that we should tread in their steps, and frame our Confession or *Symbolum* in like manner? to wit, not making the Form of our confession wholly new, but taking the former Creeds or some of them for our ground, to enlarge their Articles with such further additions and explanations as the state of the Times require. That so our Confession might be the Creeds of the Ancient Church, specified only to the present condition of the Churches and no other. Thus we should both testifie to the world our communion and agreement with the Ancient Catholick Church, (a matter of no smal moment, that we may not seem to have made a new Church or Religion, as we are charged,)

charged,) and yet withall distinguish our selves from the Sects, Heresies, and Apostasies of the Times.

To which end it were fit the words of the Ancient Creeds should be retained as much as could be; and for the more easie reception thereof, that the additions and insertions should be made in the express words of Scripture, as neer as the nature of the composure would suffer it, and not otherwise. As for the meaning of them, their application to the severall Articles would specifie it as far as were needfull, to the end aym'd at by such a Confession.

Compare the Creeds of *Nice*, *Athanasius* and *Chalcedon* with that of the Apostles, and you will understand my meaning. And consider that in such a business as this, we must not be too much in love with Methods of our own devising, (though perhaps they seem better,) but follow that which all the Churches will most easily yeeld unto, and cannot except against. I beleeve our own (as may by some passages be already guessed) would hardly be brought to subscribe to any other Form, then of such a mould.

Take this also before I conclude; That my meaning is not, we should do as the Council of *Trent* hath done, by adding twelve more Articles to the Creed: But that our additions should be inserted into the severall Articles of the Ancient Creed, as subordinate to them, and farther explanation of them: which those of *Trent* indeed could not well do, those which were added, being the most of them incompatible and inconsistent with the former

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Articles, according to the true and original meaning of the same, and therefore not to be incorporated with them.

I send you home the consultation; I will keep the *Discursus* a while longer. For *Comenius* his *praludium* I thank you, but I have not had leisure to consider so much of it, as were needfull to give a censure. I beleieve such a thing is fecible, but for the way, *Hic labor hoc opus est.*

So with my best affection I rest

Christ's Colledge,
Aug. 14. 1637.

Your assured Friend,

Jos. Mede.

Mr. Hartlib's Letter to Mr. Mede, for a sight of his Papers about the *Millennium.*

Worthy SIR,

— I Had occasion to exchange some Letters of late with Dr. Twisse: In his last he writes thus unto me; As for *Regnum Sanctorum & Christi in terris, Resurrectio prima, &c.* Passages there have been between me and Mr. Mede thereabouts, and I am but his Scholar therein: and I know full well, you are so well acquainted with him, that you may have any thing from him, who is my Master in this. I have yet no liberty to take into consideration the matter of Fundamentals, neither have I any affection to it, as finding no sure footing in that argument. Thus farre he. I pray let me reap the fruit of his confidence in
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the enjoying of those Papers, which have passed between you on the forementioned subject. Truly I shall count it a great favour, if you shall be pleased to communicate them; and having perused them, I will be carefull to return them safely into your hands with my hearty thanks. Thus craving pardon for my freedom, I take my leave, remaining alwayes, *Worthy Sir,*

London, 29. Sept.
1687.

Your most assured and willing
Friend to serve you,

S. Hartlib.

*Mr. Mede's Answer . with his judgement upon a
Discourse touching Fundamentals.*

Mr. Hartlib,

I Answered not your first Letter, because I had not wherewith to satisfy you. For that which Doctor Twisse sayes, he had of me concerning the Millenary opinion, the grounds and stating thereof, was onely in Letters between him and me, whereof I kept no Copies; and now it would be tedious to me, to renew what I then wrote. In conference I could doe it with ease, but writing is very tedious to me, and my notions and wit too, dye presently, when I intend my minde to expresse them by writing.

Concerning the Paper you now send, what judgement should I give but that I like it not? It savours me thinks, of too much averfeness from that business. I beleeve, you think so: The Gentleman
(whoso-

(whosoever he be) seems himselfe to be one of those he speaks of, that hath in his eyes, to preserve his own opinions from indemnity; but if every man do so, what hope of conciliation?

Besides, the matter aimed at in this business, is not that either side should presently relinquish their opinions of Difference, but onely take notice, that, notwithstanding these differences, both sides doe so far agree in other points, that they may and ought to acknowledge each other as Brethren; that so their Affections being united, and exasperation abolished, they might be the better disposed and fitted to judge of the points of difference between them. And whereas he objects, that such points being declared not Fundamentall, would lose part of their strength, and be shaken; this inconvenience would be recompensed, in that the opinions of the opposite party will suffer as much; and so what we lose at home, we should gain abroad. Howsoever it seems to me no very warrantable policy; that for the better strengthening and propagating a Truth, Men should be born in hand, that the beleef thereof is fundamentall, when it is not; that is, that a Truth should be maintained by a falshood: I cannot beleieve, that Truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of Truth; but I fear, that the maintenance thereof by fallacy, may not end with a blessing.

I would know, whether the Authour of this Letter thinks, that the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* agree not in so much; as is necessary unto salvation. If they do, would not a confession composed of such things wherein they agree, contain all things *necessaria*

aria cognitu ad salutem : and yet no necessity, that his or that particular Tenet should bee defined by such confession, to bee or not to bee fundamentall ?

I would know also, whether he thinks it fit, that particular Churches should have particular Confessions, whereunto their members should profess their assent ? If so, I would have it considered, whether some of his inconveniences be not as incident to such confessions towards the members of a particular Church, as would be from a generall confession toward the members of severall Churches.

All such inconveniences are *per accidens*, but the good and benefit is *per se*; yea prevents farre greater evils; with which such contingent and casuall inconveniences may not stand in competition. What greater evill can befall the Church then schisme and breach of charity between her members, and the wooll effects that doe inevitably follow thereof ? Shall we then to avoid the lesser, and such as perhaps may not be, cherish the greater, which threaten ruine to the whole body; that I say nothing of the danger of the spirituall estate of those who are engaged therein, if they are not so much as willing to be at Unity ? This is a great peece of practicall Divinity, and to be more considered then it is.

Moreover it is to be considered, that many of the evils he supposes would follow of such a confession, are already in being in most Churches, whilst there is no such confession : therefore the declining of such a confession is not the means to avoid them; They will be whether there be any such or not :

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Those who will seek for pretences to doe amisse, will alwayes find them.

Some of the evils he alleadgeth, are such as the contrary to what he fears, seem every whit as like to follow. For why should not such a declaration and limiting of Fundamentals, rather introduce a greater liberty and indulgence in particular Churches to think what men list in other points, then an oppression or further bondage to be imposed upon the members thereof? Yea a Confession cannot descend far in particulars, but some mens consciences or other will be wronged by it. And a man in this case should not have respect to his own conscience onely, but as well to other mens, who may scruple the contrary to his.

He seems to me to confound points of Faith, with matters of Practise and Manners. But the question is not, what is *licitum* or *illicitum* in Practise, or what is *Necessarium factum*, but what is *Necessarium creditu ad salutem*.

Lastly, the whole Discourse, me thinks, moves rather upon the hinges of Policy, then of Divinity; as is too manifest in that he would have the forain Churches to labour such a Confession, and ours to lye at the advantage to approve or not to approve it, as we shall find it makes for or against our particular Tenets.

All this I write tumultuously and confusedly without order, without deliberation. It is sufficient if you can guess my mind thereby, or get any hint to think more accurately how such objections are to be answered. To shew it any body I would not;
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it is not fit; if any thing be to purpose, make it your own. So with my best affection, I rest

Christ's Colledge,
Jan. 22.

Yours J. M.

Mr. Hartlib's Letter to Mr. Mede, touching the
Manuscript deciphering the number of the
Beast, 666. and other Books
newly set forth.

Worthy S I R,
[Thank you for your Answer and solid judgement
which you have returned to the enclosed Paper: you need
not fear the miscarrying of these your notions. Mr. Dury
will easily smell them out, though I should convey them in
my own unto him. By these enclosed you will see a fuller
character of that Gentleman, and what entertainment
some Extracts out of your Letters concerning Funda-
mentals have found with Mr. Dury. You doe not tell me
the name and your opinion concerning the Anonymus
Book in folio, called Bestia Apocalyptica. There is great
commendation of a Manuscript deciphering the number
of the Beast, 666. I would fain learn of you wherein the
excellency of that Treatise principally consisteth. I hear
Cluverius a very profound Historian and Divine of
Denmark, hath written an excellent commentary upon
the Revelation, which is not suffered to come forth, by
reason of many Paradoxical passages, which the Times
cannot brook as yet. I make no question you have seen a
Book which Dr. Brockman of Denmark hath written,
which is not unfit for our times, wherein he answereth the

[X·x 2]

motives

motives for which the Administrators of Hall did fall off from Protestancy. It was published Regio iussu Hafniae, 1634. One writes that this Book doth answer largely, many of the particular Arguments which are used in Mercy and Truth against us, and doth it solidly and well in most of them. He wishes also that it were more common amongst our Court-Divines. These enclosed Annotations I got from a very able Mathematician. — Thus I rest

*London, 24. Jan.
1637.*

Your most affectionate and
willing friend to serve you,

S. Hartlib.

*Mr. Mede's Answer, with his judgement of that
Discourse of the Number of the Beast, 666.*

Worthy Mr. Hartlib,

I Received yours with the *Ordo Beatae Virginis*, which with the rest I will send back next week; for now I have no time to make them up.

That Discourse or Tract of the Number of the Beast is the happiest, that ever yet came into the world; and such as cannot be read (even of those that perhaps will not beleeve it) without much admiration. The ground hath been harped on before; namely, that that Number was to be explicated by some *Arithmetica* to the numbers of the Virgin Company, and New Jerusalem which types the true and Apostolicall Church, whose number is alwayes derived from

from 12. But never did any work this Principle to such a wonderfull discovery, as this Author hath done; namely, to make this Number, not onely to shew the Nature and property of that state, which was to be the Beast, but to design the City wherein it should reign, the figure and compasse thereof, the number of Gates, Cardinall Titles or Churches, S. Peters Altar, and I know not how many more the like. I read the book at first with as much prejudice against such numericall speculations, as might be, and almost against my will, having met with so much vanity formerly in that kinde; but by the time I had done, it left me as much possessed with admiration, as I came to it with prejudice. He meddles with no more of the *Apocalypse*, then what concerns this number. 'Tis a Mathematicall ground he builds upon, and will not be so well understood by one that hath not been a little versed in Arithmetick, in that part which is called *Extraction of Roots*.

If the Scrivener, whom I hired to write me out a fair copy thereof, had not disappointed me, I could ere this have lent you a copy, it may be, as good as the Authors; I beleve somewhat more distinct, by such directions as I gave my Scribe; namely, to divide the whole into 8. Sections, and præfixe the contents of every Section at the beginning, which I writ in the Margine with my own hand. If it were in Latine, it would make some of your German Speculatives half wilde.

Concerning your Mathematicians letter, about Mr. Potters Interpretation of the Beasts Number, I like his observation of the Roman Calendar, that of

[X x 3]

all

*Mr. Mede's Letter to Mr. Hartlib, with his cen-
sure of Grebners Prophecy.*

S I R,

ON Saturday I received yours dated *March 14.*
that is the Wednesday fortnight before.——

The Prophecy (which I here send you again) I would not have you make too much of: It is taken out of *Paulus Grebnerus* his Prophecies a Manuscript in *Trinity Colledge Library*; It was left them by *Dr. Nevill* their Master, had been presented it seems to *Queen Elizabeth*, (whom part of his Prophecie concerned) and so came to *Dr. Nevills* hands, whilest he was Clerk of the Closet to her Majesty. Tis now almost 28. yeeres since I first saw and turned it over, the rather because of the fine pictures therein in colors, &c. When the wars began in *Bahemia*, (which was eight yeers after I had first seen it) remembring something I had seen therein, I had a desire to survey it anew, & borrowed it to my chamber to see if there were any thing therein worth taking notice of. But I found nothing but vanity and fancy; and the whole series thereof, and many of the particulars, manifestly then confuted by the contrary event; as you may guess by this one thing I shall tell you.

The beginning or *Epocha* of his Prophecies he makes from the year 1572: when the new Star appeared in *Cassiopeia*, and ends the whole Series of his *Vexillai* (so he terms them) at the year 1613. which he supposed should be the day of judgement, having no other ground for the same then the numerall

[X x 4]

Let-

Letters of the Latine word JUDICIUM (as they are all) which makes that number. What think you now? He prophesied great matters of Henry the 4th of France, (which proved clean contrary) of Queen Elizabeth and other Princes, which never came to pass. I have, I know not how often to satisfie one or other, told them as I now tell you; and yet every five or six yeers it comes up again, as if it had never been discredited. Men are prone to believe any thing they would have; and any words that seem that way, they lay hold on, never regarding though the ground be foolish, and the coherence with the rest repugnant to their construction. Ile tell you, what Paul Grebner meant or dreamt by that you sent me.

Know, he lived in the time of King John of Sweden, who married a Popish Lady: This is his *Hujus temporis Rex Suecie*, (*i sui temporis*) which he supposed should be invited by the Catholick party, to take their part, and to invade Denmark, &c.

The *Carolus* he speaks of, was *Carolus Sudermaniae Dux*, King Johns brother, with whom he threatens King John, that if he joyned with the Popish League, he should leave his Kingdom unto him; who should of *Carolus* become *Carolus Magnus*, that is, of a Duke be made a King, and be in respect of his Dominions and Conquests, another *Charlemagne* of the North: *Et sic* (saith he) *è Carolo Carolus Magnus regnum capeßit* (for so it should be read) *qui magno successu & fortuna, &c.* —

It followes; *Deus autem Regis conjugem Papißticam ex hac vita evocat.* This is King Johns wife. What should

should it mean else? This he dreamt should happen to King *John* as soon as he should have declared himself for the Popish League, and that then presently *Charles* his brother should take the Kingdom &c.

By this time I doubt not but you understand it, and how little they heed circumstances, and other Connexions, who would interpret it of any other *Charles*. Howsoever *Grebner* was for a great part deceived concerning even that *Charles* he meant. —

I think my Letter be now long enough; Therefore with Prayers and best affection, I rest

Christ's Coll:dg
Apr. 3. 1637.

Your assured friend,
Jof. Mede.

Pastscript: I had written yesterday, but that partly other writing, partly *Molesti homines* robbed me of my time. Would you have me send back Mr. *Dury's* Letter or not? *Vale*.

Mr. Hartlibs Reply, thanking him for that Censure.

Worthy S I R,

I Thank you for your last of the third of April. I never made much of *Grebners*, or any of those propheticall fancies. I approve fully of your judgment which you have given upon it. I hope it will work some good upon those, who are used to be carried away with these Dreames. Some weekes agoe worthy Dr. *Twisse* communicated unto me

Mr.

Mr. *Potters* M S. of 666. Certainly our *German*s will be wilde when they shall see it in a more known language. If you please to let me have your copy also, I shall take it as a special favor. I am very confidently assured that my *Lo: Gr: of Cant:* himselfe hath written a Book in answer to some Popish points, as it were a second part of *Chillingworth* composed chiefly upon the point of Fundamentals and *Non-Fundamentals*, which book is almost ready for the Press: Only because in his quotations he hath trusted to his memory, he is revising and examining them, and then it comes forth. In the mean time I rest

London, 6.
April. 1638.

*Your most willing and affectionate
friend to serve you, S. Hartlib.*

*Mr. Mede's Letter to Mr. Hartlib, modestly excusing
his own abilities, and intimating what cause he had
to decline comming forth in Print, and
touching the latitude of Rome.*

Mr. Hartlib,

TOUCHING the Letter you sent me, *De necessitate
Textualis interpretationis S. Scriptura*, I so fully agree with the Author in the former part thereof, that I could not have exprest mine own thoughts thereabouts in mine own words, better then he hath done in his. But for the latter part, alas! it is nothing so. I know my selfe better then any man else, and I am conscious that I am infinitely far from
any

any such ability as he collecteth out of a little diligence perhaps in a discourse or two. If I have hit upon any Truth; it is wholly to be attributed to my indifferency in such searches, to embrace whatsoever I should finde without any regard, whether it were for the advantage of one side or other, and not to any ability beyond others. Freedom from prejudice, *studium partium*, or desire to finde for this side rather then that (which I confess I endeavour as much as I can possible to subdue my selfe unto) is sufficient with a little diligence to discover more then I have yet done, without any such great learning. I confess I know my self to have so little of that this Gentleman supposeth me to have; that the very reading thereof hath made me more then half Melancholy ever since. I am bound to love him, and take it kindly that he hath any good or favorable conceit of me, or ought of mine: But no man can make me beleeve, that I have those abilities I have not; yea 'tis somewhat burdensome and unwelcome to me to be thought to have: *Ex animo loquor*. Yea, I am almost so uncharitable as to suspect this is some stratageme to work me to something I know not what. But let it go.

I could tell some tales of my *Altare*, of another straine; that would make you think I have no great joy to come in publick; as I think I can safely say, I did never yet *plena voluntate*, but yeelding to other mens importunities or desires: yet I know not whether I shall yet rest, and keep my thoughts and my self in my Cell. In a word, *Mundus amat decipi magis quam doceri*, and will never entertaine any man well,

well, that shall deale ingenuously with them. He must look to have *Micaiahs* luck, He must say true, and yet not prophesie against *Ahab*: If he does, he must to Pound, and hard meat for it.

For mine to Dr. *Twisse*, there is something wherein I had not fully informed my selfe, about the latitude of *Rome*, as having not *Ptolemie* by me. I said, the old Astronomers made the latitude thereof, 41. 50. min. The latter promoted it some minutes more to the North. When I wrote so, I trusted to *John Stadius*, who makes it so; and supposed he had derived it from those before him. But after looking upon *Maginus* his *Ptolemie*, I finde that *Ptolemie* according to him, makes it but 41. and 40. min. and some others and some Maps less. The sum is this; *Ptolemie* 41. 40. *Stadius* and others 41. 50. *Maginus* himselfe 42. 2. *Origanus* 42. 4. The Middle is about 41. 51. I have no time to inquire further, nor Books at hand. I pray transcribe this in yours to Dr. *Twiss*, lest he send my notion or mistake, to Mr. *Potter* without this correction, though it be not materiall. For by his words to you, I suspect he means to do it; which occasioned me to adde this. Thus with my wonted affection, I rest, and am

Christs Colledge;
4. June, 1638.

Yours, Jos. Mede.

Dr.

Dr. Twiss his eighth Letter to Mr. Mede, about
Mr. Potters Book, and the holiness of
times and places.

Dear Sir,

I Think my selfe happy that I am the Medius Terminus to convey passages between you and Mr. Potter : I received this Letter from him but on Friday last, which here I send you inclosed; wherein you will find how well he is satisfied with that of yours, having nothing to except against ought; but rather you extended that which he delivered somewhat farther then he intended it. You see he is desirous to see the division of his Book into Sections made by your hands, and marginall Annotations; and what else you can hear objected by any against it: I pray satisfie him as far as it lyeth in your power; he is a very meek and ingenuous man; and now you see what way lye his studies, I would you would imploy him in ought that you shall finde needfull; for I finde him very desirous to gratifie any friend; As I wrote to him about some things, which what they were I know not; but he hath promised to answer unto all; he is exceeding studious in his way. But is it not possible to get his Book turned into Latine in your University, especially this Vacation-time, and things standing as they do with you?

I have lately received a Book from you, by the hands of Mr. Hartlib; for which I heartily thank you: The Title you give in your Dedication, Sublati discriminis inter sacrum & profanum assertori eximio, I doubt will do you wrong with many, and make them to conceive, that the sacrum & profanum you speak of, is in
your

which are not places naturall; the like cannot be said of times. Then as for the speciall consideration of them; It is apparent, that proportion of time is very momentous for the advancing of morality and piety; as by setting apart one day in a week for Gods publick and solemn service; a greater advancing of piety is made by farre, then by the sequestering of one day only in a month, or in a yeer for this; and we finde nothing answerable hereunto in place at all, least of all as commanded either by God or man.

Lastly, as touching the particularity of time and place compared together; will you say there is as little evidence for the particular day to be kept holy to the Lord, as for the particular place? Sure I am S. Gregories is going down, if not altogether down, to be built elsewhere as they think good; we never yet heard the like of the Lords day: yet I would you could prevail but so far with your great Lord, to draw him to be assertor eximius sublatis discriminis inter sacrū & profanū, as well in time as in place. Though I despair of ever being brought to acknowledge there is no difference between these; least of all to beleieve, that holiness of place is more religiously to be observed, then holiness of Time.

But notwithstanding the difference between us herein, you shall alwayes be as dear to me as you have been; and that not as a civill friend only, but as my Christian brother too; were our differences of opinion greater then these: For I manifestly perceive, how easie a thing it is for good men to take your way about the holiness of place; and whereunto my selfe have been exceeding prone. But do you think indeed that Naōs was the word of Ignatius? or can you give any instance of the like, either in his time,

or

or in an 100 yeers after him? I wish you all happiness as to my selfe, and rest,

2. July, 1638.

Yours ever in the Lord, much obliged, and most assured,

Will. Twisse.

Mr. Mede's Answer to Dr. Twisse's eighth Letter, touching holinesse of Times and Places.

SIR,

I Say still, there is *Eadem ratio Loci & Temporis sacri quâ talis*, to wit, for the Sanctification or discrimination due to them both, and the formall reason for which it is due: For the formall reason why a thing is to be sanctified (or *sanctè habendum*) is, because it is *Sanctum* or *Sacrum*, and whatsoever is appropriate unto God and his service, is such; be it by Gods own immediate ordination, or humane devotion, it is alone in this point, so the consecration be supposed lawfull and agreeable to the divine will: For this sanctification depends neither upon the difference of the institution, whether divine or humane; nor the diversity of naturall and artificial being, but upon the *formalis ratio* of the object, because it is *sacrum*. Moreover, I beleve the one was intended in the fourth Commandement as well as the other; not only from that generall Rule whereby the Decalogue is to be interpreted, but because the Lord himself hath conjoynd them, *Lev. 19. 30. Keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Why may

This Answer was writ in haste upon the back-side of the Doctors Letter, to be transcribed afterwards into a better form.

may not I say, *Those whom God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder?* And it may be, the sanctification of the Lords day would be urged with more advantage upon the ground I have intimated, then upon that other which is so much controverted. But it is Partiality that undoes all.

As for the taking down of *S. Gregories Church*; I answer, In the Law, some things sacred were unalienable, even *quoad individuum*, (as for example, such as were consecrated by way of כֶּהֱנִים, See *Levit.* 27. 28, 29.) others were unalienable, *quoad speciem* only; and therefore, if need were, the *individuum* might be changed, so it were with the Lords advantage, as by adding to the value of it, which the Law provided should be a fifth part. See the rest of that Chapter.

You ask me, if I beleve indeed that *Næds* was *Ignatius* his word? I say, I doe; till I hear some sufficient reason why I should not. For that of my not being able to give an instance either in his Age, or within an hundred yeers after him, seems to me to have no force of concluding at all.

When I affirmed in my *Altare*, that the name *Table* could not be shewed in any genuine Ecclesiasticall writer before 200. yeers after Christ, given to that whereon the Holy Eucharist was celebrated; I inferred not therefrom, that surely the name *Table* was never used all that time. Nor, if I had, would you have beleaved me. And to tell you truth, when I wrote that, I beleaved somewhat more; namely, that the use of that *Name* could not be shewed in any Writer of the first 300. yeers; and put a friend of

[Y y]

mine,

mine, who thought that Assertion of 200. yeers incredible, to see if he could finde it in all the three; which when he had tryed, he could not. And the last week, one shewed me the new Bishop of Norwich his Articles; wherein (together with some other things) he avowes upon his reading, that the name *Table is never to be found in any Ecclesiasticall writer of the first 300. yeers, save onely once in Dionysius Arcapagita, and that in an occasionall passage of his.* But you see I can shew the name *Naos* oftner then once in those first 300. yeers: yea, if you will but grant the Authour of that Hierarchicall Treatise to have lived within 200. yeers after Christ; I could give you an instance both of the Name *Naos* and *Ἱερόν* within the time limited. For in his *Mysterium Synaxeos*, in the beginning he describes the Deacons standing *Παρεταί τοῦ Ἱεροῦ πύλας.* And in his *Theoria*, the sending of the *Energumēni τῷ Θεῷ ἔσω ταῦ.* Howsoever it be, it followes not, that because I can shew it but once, that therefore I should beleieve it was used never.

Tours, J. M.

Mr. Mede's Letter to Mr. Hartlib, touching
Mr. Dury's business, and some
Socinian Books.

THat Extract of the Letter to you, is but a symptome of *studium partium*; of which kinde, he that will be an indifferent and moderate man, must look to swallow many. Therefore *transseat.* Onely thus

thus much; To be never or further off from the *man of sin*, is not (I think) the measure of truth and falshood; nor that which would be most destructive of him, alwayes true and warrantable. If it be, there be some in the world, that would be more Orthodox and Reformed Christians then any of us. The *Socinians* you know, deny, That souls live after death, untill the Resurrection; or that Christ hath *carnem & sanguinem*, now in heaven; both as most destructive of the idolatrous errours of the *man of sin*: The first, of Purgatory and Invocation of Saints, (which they say can never be solidly everted, as long as it is supposed souls doe live :) The other, of Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Is not this to undermine Antichrist with a vengeance, as they say?

I have not been very obtrusive unto men, to acquaint them with my notions and conceits in that kinde, (for some of them that are but lately known, have lyen by me above these twenty yeers; and not shewen to any) unlesse they urge me, and ask me what is my opinion: and yet my freedom to utter my mind then, to such as are prejudiced the contrary way, does neither them, nor me any good. Therefore *cupio desungi*, if it would be; and to be troubled no more, either with *Quasita*, or Reciprocations in that kinde:

For the *Discourse of Schisme* you sent me; It proceeds from a distinct and rationall Head, but I am afraid too much inclined that way, that some strong and rationall wits doe. It may be I am deceived.

[Y y 2]

The

The conclusions which he aymes at, I can more easily assent to, then to some of his premises. I have yet looked it but once over. But any more free or particular censure thereof, then what I have already given, look not for; lest I be censured my selfe. 'Tis an argument wherein a wise man will not be too free in discovering himselfe *pro* or *con*, but reserved.

Thus with my wonted affection and prayers, I rest

Christ's Colledge,

Aug. 6. 1638.

Your assured Friend

Jos. Mede.

*Mr. Mede's Letter to a worthy friend, touching
some of his Papers which were printed
without his privity.*

Worthy SIR,

I Thank you very heartily for your Book and kind Letter; as I should have done long agoe for another Book you sent me. But I have entangled my self a long time, with so much needless writing to no purpose, as it makes me sometimes glad of any pretence to be idle, when I should not. For what you say of a Scribe, it was I that took order to have such a one sent to you, not you to me. He assure you, you have performed more then I durst have thought of doing, though you please to profess your self my Disciple: But it is no unwonted thing for Scholars thus to outgoe their Masters.

There are some Papers of mine walking I know

not

not where, concerning bowing towards the Altar : which were written by way of Answer to some body (and a man of note) demanding of me, what I thought thereof : One was my first Answer ; Another more large replying to the exceptions he made against that first, and the whole opinion and practise being somewhat larger then I use to write Letters, and written with some intention of minde (after my thoughts that way had been long asleep ;) I by chance kept a copy of it, which how it came to be so much dispersed, I profess I know not.

That so long since written Discourse of mine, *De sanctitate Relativa, &c.* favours too much of my infancy in Divinity, and first thoughts, and affectation of style, to ever see the publick light.

And indeed I had resolved to enjoy my selfe, and such contentment as I could find in my Cell, and never to have come in print again, either to please or displease any man : but onely to vent such notions, as I had conceived privately by a new way I took of common-placing, changing my Theme *qualibet vice* : When now on a sudden before I was aware, and little expected any such matter, one of my Straglers is perkt into the Presse, telling the world, he was one of those common-places. What his destiny is, I know not; but if it be good, some body can say, He hath flung many a stone in his dayes, but never hit the mark till now; and that too by meer chance, and not so much as intending it.

For writing to Sir *W. B.* I think it is not *Tanti* upon this occasion. 'Tis a Pamphlet, and I had rather it should come to his hands, with a kind of neg-

left on my part, then with too much Pomp. But I thank you for what you have done, and for your further offer.

Thus with my best affection, I commend you to the divine blessing, and am

Christ's Colledge,
July 3.

Your old and assured friend,
Jof. Mede.

The disposition of the yeers of Jehoiakim according to the several events mentioned in Scripture.

Jehoiakimi 1^o.

IN the first yeer of *Jehoiakim*, as soon as the King of Egypt had made him King, *Nebuchadnezzar* being sent by his Father yet living, came into the Land to reduce those of *Phœnicia* and *Cœlesyria* (which had revolted to the King of Egypt) unto his obedience, wherewith *Jehoiakim* being affrighted became his tributarie and served him three yeers, 2 Kings 24.1. This was that expedition whereof *Berosus* speaks, lib. 3. rerum Chaldaicarum, citante *Josepho*, Cum audivisset *Nabuchodonosori* parens *Nabopolassar*us Satrapam *Egypti* & *Cœlesyria* *Phœnicia*que locis præfectum rebellionem fecisse, nec ipse jam labores ferre posset; traditâ filio *Nabuchodonosoro* adhuc atate vigenti, parte copiarum, eum misit, & ille cum rebellis prælio congressus, victor evasit; & regionem denuò sub ipsorum potestatem redegit, &c.

And

And this was that expedition whereof we read,
2 Kings 24. v. 7. "That the King of Egypt came not
 "again out of his Land any more: (viz. after he had
 "made *Jehoiakim* King) For the King of Babel had
 "taken from the River of Egypt unto the River Eu-
 "phrates, all that pertained unto the King of Egypt, viz.
 "Phoenicia, Coelestria, &c.

This also was the expedition whereof the *Rechabites* speak *Jere. 35. 11.* when *Nebuchadnezzar* King of Babel came up into the Land, we said, Come let us go to Jerusalem for fear of the Army of the Chaldeans, so we dwelt at Jerusalem. For this coming of the King of Babel into the Land, must either be in the first of *Jehoiakim*, or in the 4th, or in the last yeer of his reigne: In the last it could not be; for they speak of it, as of a thing a good while past, when *Jehoiakim* was yet reigning: And the Prophet sayes he was bidden go to these *Rechabites* in the Reigne of *Jehoiakim*; where no yeer being named, it seems to be supposed, as a thing happening about the beginning of his reigne, or before *Nebuchadnezzar* was yet returned home out of those quarters: Nor could it be in the 4th yeer; for then *Nebuchadnezzar* besieged and took Jerusalem, *Dan. 1.* but here he came but into the Land, and the *Rechabites* were safe in Jerusalem: Therefore it must be in the first.

And from this time to the first yeer of *Darius* with; (*Cyrus* that is, to the first of *Cyrus* his 9.* yeers) are just 70 yeers: At what time *Daniel* made his Prayer, as having hoped his people should then have returned from Captivity, *Dan. 9. 2.* &c. But he anticipated the *Epocha* which God intended.

[Y y 4]

Je-

* To the first of those years whereof *Cyrus* reigned 9. *Vid. Cam. Ptol.*

Jehoiakimi 4^o.

In the 4th yeer of *Jehoiakim* (or third compleat) which was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Jehoiakim* after three yeers service, as soon as he heard of the death of *Nabopollasar*, and recalling of *Nebuchadnezzar* out of those parts, taking courage and rebelling upon the advantage of the time, *Nebuchadnezzar* returns again, and the first time besieged *Jerusalem*, took it, carried many of the people Captive, and *Daniel* amongst them, also part of the vessels of the house of the Lord. This is that expedition whereof *Daniel* speaks, ch. 1. And from hence to the first yeer of *Cyrus*, *solus*, (that is, of those six * yeers which he reigned compleat after *Darius* his death) are 70. yeers : which was the time when God according to the Prophecie of † *Jeremie* released their Captivity.

* *Xenophon*
Cyropæd.
 2 *Chro.* 36
 22.
Ezra. 1. 1.
 † *Jer.* 25.
 12. & 29.
 10.
Dan. 9. 2.

Jehoiakimi 5^o.

In the fifth yeer of *Jehoiakim* in the ninth moneth, the same moneth that *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken and spoiled the City, the yeer before, they proclaimed a publique fast, *Jer.* 36. 9. that so by humbling themselves upon the remembrance of the former yeers calamity ; they might pacifie the farther wrath of God towards them. For the like reason after the destruction of the City, they used even till *Zacharies* time, to fast upon the 4th 5th and 10th moneths (*Zacharie* 7. 3. and 8th. Because *Nebuchadnezzar* began that fatall siege in the 10th moneth, took the City in the 4th, burnt it in the 5th *Jer.* 52. v. 4. 6. 12. and, 2 *Kings* 25. At this Fast, *Baruch* read his Roul.

Jehoiakimi

Jehoiakimi 11^o.

This yeer the King of *Babell* sent to *Jerusalem* to bring *Jehoiakim* bound in Fetters unto *Babylon*, 2 *Chron.* 36. 6. But his servants used him in such manner that he dyed miserably before he went, and was buried with the buriall of an *Asse*, drawn, and cast forth beyond the Gates of *Jerusalem*, *Jer.* 22. 9. whereupon the people made his son *Jehoiachin* King; when presently *Nebuchadnezzar* (who had then accomplished the 7th* yeer of his reigne) came, besieged the City, took and carried the new King *Jehoiachin* captive, when he had reigned but three moneths. Some

* *Jer.* 52.
18.

Objections touching this disposition of Jehoiakims yeers.

Obj. *Jehoiakim* in the 9th moneth of the 5th yeer of his reigne, was not yet in captivity; as is plaine by *Jer.* 36. 9. Therefore *Nebuchadnezzar* had not approached *Ierusalem*, and made a deportation in the 4th yeer of *Jehoiakim*.

I answer, it follows not. For the Captivity of *Jehoiakim* seems not to have been a captivity of his person, but of his people; and that for these reasons: First if *Jehoiakim* were carried captive either in the 4th or 7th yeer of his reign, how could he be said to reign 11. yeers? did he reign whil' st he was in *Babylon*? Secondly, *Jehoiakim* was buried, *Sepultura asini, protractus & projectus extra portas Ierusalem*; *Jer.* 22. 19. If he died at *Ierusalem*, how could he be a captive in *Babylon*? Thirdly, it is no where said, that *Jehoiakim* himselfe was carried captive: Of his people captived we hear *Dan.* 1. and of part of the vessels of the house of God; of his servitude both first and second, 2 *Kings* 24. 1, 2.

Obj.

Obj. But 2 Chron. 26. 6. It is said, that Nebuchadnezzar came up against him, and bound him with fetters to carry him to Babylon.

Ans. True; it appears he meant to have carryed him, but not that he performed it. 2. This coming up of the King of *Babylon*, if we compare it with the Text of the 2 Kings 24. will be his first coming up; when *Jehoiakim* became his tributary three yeers. Therefore this coming up, and this binding, though joyned in one sentence, was not at the same time.

Obj. But you will say, When then was this binding to have carried him?

Ans. I suppose in the last yeer of his reign, and life; and that his ill usage at that time, was the occasion of his so miserable death, before he was yet gone from *Ierusalem*: And yet perhaps those who came to fetch him, went not home empty; but carried those 3023. mentioned *Ier.* 52. though I had rather refer them to *Jehoiachins* going, which was immediately.

Object. The first deportation of the *Iewes*, was in the 7th of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Ier.* 52. 28. Therefore, not the 4th but the 11th of *Jehoiakims* reign.

Ans. *Ieremie* intended not a rehearsall of all the captivities, nor of the full number of the captives; as appears by the smalness of the number; It may be those numbers contain men of particular qualitie, and such as were disposed of in one and the same place. But here I am not resolved.

I. M.

Prophetia

Prophetia *TOBIÆ* Moribundi,

D E

Duplici Judæorum Captivitate,

E T

Statu Novissimo :

Prout habetur in exemplari Hebraico, non illo *Munsteri*, ex versionibus Græcâ & Latinâ (ut nimis planum est) attemperato & conficito; sed *Constantinopolitano* illo vetusto & purissimè *ἑβραϊζοῦν*, à *Paulo Fagio* in lucem edito; eoque (ut constat) ex originali Chaldæo (unde & nostræ editiones binæ prodire) omnium fidelissimè, nempe Judæi alicujus, istius Dialecti peritissimi, manu, jam olim expresso.

ET factum est, cùm senuisset *Tobias*, ut vocaret filium suum *Tobiam*, unâ cum sex filiis qui nati sunt ei, ac diceret ei.

Fili mi, nosti, quòd senio confectus sum; Cave itaque post obitum meum, nè diutiùs mancas *Ninive*: certum enim & clarum est tibi, fore, ut confirmetur Prophetia *Iona* Prophetæ.

Quare accipe filios tuos, & quæcunque habes, & vade in terram *Medorum*; ibi enim erit Pax ad tempus constitutum.

* Cæterùm reliqui fratres nostri Israelitæ qui sunt in *Jerusalem* omnes migrabunt in exilium, & *Jerusalem* in acervos erit, & *Mons Domus* in excelsa sylvæ, manebitque desolata ad modicum tempus.

* Hebr. וְשָׂרָא אֶחָיו
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אִשְׂרָאֵל
כֻּלָּם יֵאָצֵאוּ בְּגִלוּת וִירֻשָׁלַם
לְעֵיִם תְּהִיָּה וְהָר הַבַּיִת
לְבִמּוֹת יַעַר וְתִהְיֶה
שׁוֹמֵמָה זְמַן מֵעַתָּה

Respondet
cap. 14. in
nostris, inde
à versu 3.
ad finem
versus. 7. in
Græco. 9.

Tum

וְאֵן יִשְׁלֹוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
 וְיִבְנוּ אוֹתָהּ וְאֵת הַבַּיִת
 אֲבָל לֹא כְּבָנִין רִאשֹׁן
 וְיַעֲמִדוּ שָׁם לְפָנֵי מַלְאָכָה
 עוֹלָם אַחֵר

Tunc autem ascendent filii
 Israel, & reedificabunt eam,
 simul & Templum; attamen
 non juxta priorem structu-
 ram; manebuntque ibi diebus
 multis, (6.) donec impleatur
 series quædam sæcularis.

וְעוֹר יֵצְאוּ בְּגָלוֹת רַב
 וְגִדּוֹל וְהַקְדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא
 יִכְרַאֲוֶתָם וְיִקְבְּצֵם מֵאַרְבַּע
 כְּנָפֹת הָאָרֶץ.

(7.) Tum iterum exhibunt
 in captivitatem longè maxi-
 mam: verum Deus sanctus
 Benedictus recordabitur eo-
 rum, & congregabit eos à
 quatuor plagis mundi.

וְיִחַבְּנָה
 יְרוּשָׁלַם
 בְּנֵי נֶאֱחָ
 וְגו'

Tum restaurabitur Jerusalem Civitas sancta,
 structurâ pulchrâ & præclarâ; nec non & Tem-
 plum ipsum exstructur structurâ celebri, structurâ,
 quæ non destruetur, nec diruetur in sæculum, & in
 sæcula sæculorum, quemadmodum dixerunt Pro-
 phetæ.

Tunc convertentur Gentes istæ, ad colendum
 Dominum, projicientque sculptilia Deorum suorum,
 dabuntque laudem & confessionem Nomini ejus
 magno.

Exaltabitur quoque cornu populi sui coram om-
 nibus gentibus, & celebrabunt & glorificabunt No-
 men ejus magnum, omne semen Israel. Tunc gau-
 debunt omnes servi ejus, qui serviunt ei in veritate;
 lætabuntur & exultabunt omnes, qui faciunt justiti-
 am & pietatem.

Annota-

Annotationes magistri Medi in hanc Prophetiam.

(α.) Ita enim, eisdemque verbis jam prophetaverat Michas, sub initium Ezekie, quo tempore Tobias in captivitatem abducebatur. vid. Jerem. 26. 18. Mich. 3. 12.

(β.) In Græco, ἕως πληρωθῶσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰῶ-
νος. i. donec impleantur tempestates sæculi.
Quæ verba Nostrates mirificè verterunt. Vide obsecro.

(γ.) Verba ista [*Et iterum exhibunt in captivitatem longè maximam*] in Græco interprete, sive casu, sive consilio, prætermissa sunt, sed hiatu nimis manifesto. Quo nimirum effectum est, ut cum proximè præcedentibus sequentia omninò non cohæreant, in quibus scilicet narretur reditus & restauratio à captivitate aliquà à priori diversâ, cujus tamen nulla mentio præmissa est. Lege amabò & fatebere.

Suspicio autem consultò hanc clausulam expunctam, quia cum sententiâ *Chiliastarum* facere videbatur, statuendo illa, quæ à Prophetis dicuntur de gloriosâ restauratione Jerusalem & Gentium conversione tunc futurâ, non ante novissimum Judæorum reditum impletum iri. Unde *Hieronymus* eadem de causâ non solum hanc clausulam, sed duos integros paragraphos hoc loco omisit, ut ita quod sequitur, de Gentibus ad Dominum convertendis, præsentī earum vocationi in solidum vendicaret.

Quàm

Quàm perfunctoriè autem Hieronymus in istâ versione suâ egit; quantumque fidei ei tribuendum sit, ex Prologo quem ipse versioni suâ præfixit, Lector facile æstimare potest. *Quia vicina est (inquit) Chaldaorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque lingue peritissimum loquacem reperiens, unius diei laborem arripui, & quicquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego accito notario sermonibus Latinis exposui.*

A short



A short view

OF THE

Author's Life and Death.



It hath been an approved practise of the best Historians, sometimes in short Characters, and sometimes in larger descriptions, to represent the nature, sayings, and manners of those persons, whose actions recited in the *SERIES* of their history, have rendred them any way illustrious, and more conspicuous then others; by which means, their histories become more lively, delightful and satisfactory to the attentive Readers, who are naturally apt to inquire and to know as much as they can of the persons, whose actions have any way drawn their attention; and (as *Herod* once of our Blessed Saviour) to demand, *Quis est iste de quo talia audio?* Upon the same warrant of reason,

reason, it hath been usual, to the works of men eminent in the Common-wealth of Learning, to annexe the Characters and descriptions of the lives of the Authors, and to represent them to the world as they appeared in their conversation; so (as it were) hanging those Jewels, (which in their works appear but as in a Cabinet) upon their persons. And this seems no where more reasonably requisite, then to those whose works relate to Religion and Piety: For, though monuments of this nature speak more to the world of the Authours, then the Trophies, or Stories of other great Atchievements, yet as those histories which relate meerly matters of Fact, Emergencies and Successes of things, without the Counsels and Reasons upon which they were grounded, make but a dull and imperfect story, and abuse the world by wrong apprehensions of the Actors: So (even the piously) learned works of men, without the knowledge of the lives and conversations of the Authours, cause them many times to be mistaken, and to have unworthy aspersions
cast

A short view of the Authours Life and Death.

cast upon their memories; men framing notions to themselves of the Authours according to the relish they have of their opinions. And truth it selfe (though where ever it is, it is Gods) finds reception in the world not ever for it selfe, but for the Instrument by whom it is conveyed: and as good tidings find most ready acceptance, when brought by good men; so truth in all kindes is advantaged, when delivered by those of whose goodnesse and integrity men are strongly perswaded.

In honour therefore to the memory of this worthy Authour, I shall endeavour to set down so much as may serve to represent him to the world (though not fully or to the height of those perfections which shined in him, yet) truly, and so as may vindicate his memory from the false conceptions of any, that (making their Estimate of his worth from some, perhaps, not pleasing opinion) shall conceive him under some deformed or less worthy shape, and may (in some sort) satisfy those, who, having seen his works, desire to know more of him then (what
[Z z] they

they have in the Title-page) that he was, Mr. *Joseph Mede*, and sometimes Fellow of *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*.

To this end it will not be requisite to present him with any large Land-skip, or to border his story with any long description of his Pedegree or Country : to point at these only (as being no parts of him, nor scarce to be called his) will be sufficient; and to know, that his Parents were of honest rank, and though not by any eminency of condition, yet truly ennobled by having such a Son : of whom also * *Essex* may justly glory, as the place of his Nativity.

Nor will it be more needfull, to shew what he was in the blossome; which, the fruit proving so excellent, may well be presumed to have been faire and promising, and such, as might justly induce his friends to endeavour their best cherishing, who encouraged by their conceived hopes, placed him in the University of *Cambridge*, devoting him to learning in the service of Christ in that Colledge that bears His Name. And what pains himselfe took for his own improvement,

* Near
Bishops
Stretford.

provement, may easily be imagined; and that, to the rich vein of his pregnant wit, an assiduous industry was not wanting. *Multa tulit, fecitque puer* --- may well be said of him, in regard of the foundations of those rare sciences, which he after (with continued studies) raised to so high a pitch. The fruits whereof, soon after his settling in the University, appeared with that lustre, that they drew upon him the eyes, not only of those in his own Colledge, but of the whole University: who look't upon him, as one eminent in all kind of learning requisite for his standing. Which could not but be the more notable, in regard he wanted that felicity of utterance, (which useth to set off a slight knowledge) having so great an hesitation in his speech, as made his expression painfull to himselfe, and nothing pleasing to others: which made him decline (as much as he might) all publick disputations, and other exercises, as not to be performed by him without great difficulty: his labour (as he was wont to tell his Familiars) in them being double to that of others, in regard he

was put to study not for matter only, but for words; not to expresse his mind, (such words, the matter being excogitated, doe not unwillingly follow, and even offer themselves) but for words that he could utter; yea, and to dispose them too in that order, that the contexture might suit with his ability. Wherein yet, he, in time, became a rare example, how much a discreet observation of such an imperfection, can work toward the cure of it. For by a heedful inspection into the nature of his defect, what words he most stuck at, either single, or in conjuncture, and at what times he was more or lesse free; he attained so great a Mastery over that infirmity, that he was able to deliver a whole Sermon without any considerable hesitation.

By that time he had taken the degree of *Master in Arts*, he had made so happy a progresse through all kinde of Academical studies, as that Title was not (as with many it is) any false inscription. His name was up, and he lookt on as one extraordinarily seen in all those Arts and Languages that

that accomplish a Divine, as an acute Logician, a profound Philosopher, a skilful Mathematician, and one not slightly versed in History and Chronology. In all which, but especially in these last studies, he after became so great a proficient, that for his singular knowledge and dexterous application of prophecies to their punctual times, he was worthily admired by those that knew him.

His first shewing himselfe abroad, was by an addresse to that great pattern and Patrone of Learning, *Andrewes*, (after Bishop of *Winchester*) in a large discourse in Latine *De Sanctitate relativâ*. A peece of that rare learning and judgement, that had it, then when it was written, been published, it would undoubtedly have much heightned the reputation of the Authour: and though himselfe, in his latter time (being, by a friend, desired to print it) was pleased (somewhat too severely) to censure it, as favouring too much of the * Novice in Divinity, for him then to own it (and for that reason, and because he had published, in other peeces,

* See his letter to a worthy friend, about some of his Papers printed without his Privy.

[Z z 3]

much

much of the substance of it, would not permit it to the presse) yet certainly, that it deserved a better fate, then to be smothered in the swadling clouts, we need no other evidence, then that, being not a subject for every pen, it notwithstanding gained the approbation of so exact a judgement (as was his to whom it was presented) in so high a measure, that, shortly after, he having need of the Kings favour, against some foul play that was like to have been shewed him, about his *Election to a Fellowship*, that worthy Bishop stood his firm friend, and maintained his right, against some that were then of no small power at Court; and after that, desired him for his household Chaplain: which place notwithstanding he refused; as valuing the freedom of his studies above any hopes of preferment. And this freedom, which he enjoyed in his Cell (as he used to cheerfully term it) gave him a happy advantage of increasing his knowledge in all kindes. The work that constantly lay upon him, serving not more for the benefit of others, then for the exercise and improving
of

of what he had gotten by his studies. Thus his constant *Greek Lecture*, in the Colledge, (which he obtained soon after his being chosen *Fellow*, and held all his life) made that Tongue familiar to him: and his dayly private readings to his Pupils (to whom he was an able guide in all kind of Philosophical and Mathematical studies) preserved those parts of Academicall learning. Nor were his howers of recreation (which was very seldom in bodily exercises) this way unprofitable to himsele and others; being, for the most part, spent in learned discourses with his friends; and, for divers yeers together, mostwhat with his worthy friend Mr. *William Chappell* (afterward Provost of *Trinity Colledge* near *Dublin* in *Ireland*, and Bishop of *Cork* and *Ross*, then whom *Cambridge* could scarce boast of a greater Magazine of (especially the rational) learning,) with whom, (among other profitable pastimes) he was wont commonly to take advantage of discoursing upon his *Hebrew Lectures* (by him, for many yeers, read in that Colledge) and, in a lufory way, to find out

words of a near sense and sound in *Latin*, *Greek*, or *English*, expressing the *Radicals* and other principal words in that sacred language: by that means (and the occasional recourse which he had to it, upon every emergency) keeping that language in continual exercise; in which, by his study, formerly, he had attained a rare perfection; and withall, by many happy excursions into the neighbouring Languages, gained no small treasure of knowledge in the *Chaldee*, *Syriack*, and *Arabick*. I mention these things not more to present him to the world in his constant course (which I account a necessary part of my design) then that, shewing by what means he attained to so high perfections of knowledge; I might, by his pattern, shew what by an assiduous diligence may be done, and how unjustly that of *Hippocrates*, *Ars longa, vita brevis*; is pretended by those who (as *Seneca* observes) spend most of their life, either *Nihil, aliud*, or *malè agendo*.

The time he had for retirement to his private studies, he spent principally in a curious enquiry into the more abstruse parts
of

of learning, and such as were remote from the vulgar track. As in the exact calculation of Times, so far especially, as made for the solving or clearing of those difficulties and obscure passages, which occur in the Historical part of Scriptures, which the vulgar Chronologers have perplexed, and the best not fully freed from scruple. To this he joyned the curious and laborious search of Antiquities, relating to Religion, Ethnick, Jewish and Christian: the fruits of which study appear visible in many of those excellent peeces, which have passed the presse.

Among other studies, he spent no small pains in sounding the depths of *Astrology*, to which (he would say) above all other studies, he had a natural propension: yet did not that propension so far sway his judgement, as not to discover the vanity and weaknesse of those grounds, upon which the professors of that Science (very often) build their too-confident predictions. Nor could all his search raise in him any further confidence, then, *That the celestiaall luminaries*
having

A short view of the Outbours Life and Death.

having an unquestionable influence upon all sublunary bodies; in the like position of the heavens, may reasonably be thought to have a similitude in their operation, and thereby to cause a Sympathy in things produced under like constellations, and an Antipathy under different: But this not extending further then a naturall inclination, and being in men alterable by custome, education, and infinite externall impediments, he judged it not (without extreme vanity) to be presumed upon, as any infallible ground of prediction of future actions; especially in such things wherein men, acting out of choyse, run countre, many times, to their naturall inclinations. For to give you his positive judgement in few words (because the Temper, or distemper, of this licentious age, hath given men occasion to linger after their vanities) thus he was wont in familiar discourse to determin, touching the necessity, and contingency of these subordinate causes, that (to use his own apposite, and fit words) the *constellatio cæli*, does beget in man *dispositio* Temperamenti, and this *dispositio* Temperamenti, does beget *dispositio* ingenii, in the way of direct, and natural subordination: But, that, here the chain

chain is broken off, because *ἐκφυία ingenii*, does beget, or produce, *ἐκπραξίαν actionis*, in man onely contingently, and without any necessity; and thus *ἐ contra*, That, *δυσπραξία cœli*, does beget *δυσκρασία Temperamenti*; and the *δυσκρασία Temperamenti*, *δυσφυία ingenii*; this naturally as before: But, that this *δυσφυία ingenii* should beget *δυσπραξίαν actionis*, this is from no necessity, because it is in mans power and liberty, who is naturally ill-disposed, through the improvements of art, and especially by the grace of God, to become good, or better, as the Divine goodnesse shall minister opportunity: Which is as much as can be said in so few words; and might determine the question to all judicious and knowing men, concerning the power of the Starres, and those celestial influences into and upon this inferiour world; where their operations are genuine, and natural, and properly efficient; and where they have their stint, and their *ne plus ultra*, nothing at all to doe, unlesse, by a remote disposition, which is properly no cause at all: and might vindicate man, borne to Liberty, and to com-

command the Stars , from that supposed vassallage whereunto the jugling Astrologers of our dayes would fain subject him , and cast the credulous world into a Trance of blindnesse, to belceve lies , and follies , and grosse vanities for very truth But of these by the By.

. From these he proceeded unto those mysterious sciences which made the ancient *Chaldaans* and *Egyptians* so famous , tracing them , as far as he could have any light to guide him, in their Prophetick *Schemes*, *Hieroglyphicks*, and *Oneiromancy*, or interpretation of dreames, for the affinity which he conceived, they might have, with the Language of the Prophets ; to the understanding of which he shewed a most indefatigable desire : as witnesse especially those labours of his , which are published upon *Daniel*, and the *Revelation* : which last Prophecie, of all others (as being of things , some of them , not to be fulfilled , till the end of the world) most obscure , and in that respect, in most parts thereof , mistaken by many , hath been wrested by daring phantasies

sies to expresse things never intended. By which labours what honour he purchased both at home and abroad, among men studious in that way, is manifestly evident by those many letters sent him from learned men in several parts. And though with men lesse affectionate to studies of that nature, he gained not the same opinion; nor attained to an infallibility in every point of those Prophetical mysteries (as being a depth which perhaps no humane understanding, till by a more full accomplishment enlightened, can sound) yet judicious men (that are but in the least candid) cannot but say that he proceeded upon grounds never traced by any, & as probable as any hath done, that before him undertook that task, and such as though they do not exempt from possibility of erring in the application, doe yet afford a good help toward the right understanding of very many things, otherwise scarce discernible: and, in the mean time, doe strongly convince the overdaring vanity of very many confident Expositors. Nor can it justly be counted any blemish to his name and honour, that he
afforded.

afforded so much countenance to that (by some held worthily exploded) opinion of the *Chiliassts*. For grant it to be an error, yet it hath very much to plead its toleration and their pardon that hold it: what ever it be, it pass for a pretious truth, even in the purest and most untainted Ages of the Church (those next the Apostles) for the space of above 300. years, and had the suffrages of the most eminent Doctors that lived in those times: Nor was it ever condemned till the Church (recovering breath from her persecutions) began (perhaps a little too much) to prize her peace, and, disvaluing her expectations, to set up her rest in her enjoyed tranquillity. And certainly, not to argue its verisimilitude from the consonancy it seems to have with the many glorious prophecies of Christs Kingdome in the Old Testament, which finde many cold interpretations among Expositors, a man can hardly, without admitting it, make good sense of those places in the 20. and 21. of the *Revelation*, which tell us of a *first* and *second Resurrection*, and of a *Jerusalem descend-*
ing

ing out of heaven from God. Which last (I have often heard our Authour say) seemed to him extremely harsh to expound of the state of blisse to be enjoyed in heaven: and to make [*descending out of heaven*] to signifie [*ascending up thither*] (more absurd then that of the Canonist which expounded [*constituimus*] by [*abrogamus*]) and that he was compelled by that; and many other places, against his inclination, to allow so much of *Chiliafm* as might make sense of those prophecies: yet alwayes keeping himselfe from falling into those dotages, which some of that opinion fancied, or, at least, were perhaps (undeservedly) charged with; neither denying any necessary Catholick verity, nor admitting any thing inconsistent with the Analogy of faith) and submitting his opinion to the judgement of the Church. And within these limits, I never yet learned why he, or any other learned man, may not have the liberty of his own sense, or, in such problematical points, should incurre any censure for dissenting from others. He might possibly, (as some that were more friends to him

him then those studies, often wished) have imployed his pains, and great abilities more profitably : Yet , whosoever admits the truth of those things which are literally expressed in that book , must needs yeeld, that the meaning (could it be found out) of Prophecies accomplishable under the Gospel, cannot but much avail to the comfort and edification of Christians : And that therefore his designe was commendable, though not answered with successe , equal-ling the height of his desires. And they that will rightly censure him (had they no more to ground their censure on , but the abilities he shewed in this argument) must say of him , for a *DIVINE*, as Scaliger did of Claudian, for a Poet. That he was [*inter primos, & solo argumento ignobiliore oppressus*] an eminent Divine, and only oppressed with a lesse worthy subject, if any part of holy writ, in regard of the invincible obscurity, may so be styled.)

Besides these, his indeavours were happily imployed in other (though neither easy, nor ordinary) undertakings. For , his *Genius* leading him on, as it were, to encounter difficulties

difficulties, he ever seemed most delighted with those studies, where he might strain the sinewes of his brain; and (as if he accounted them but halfe Scholars, that knew only so much as taken up from others, they held in memory) he was not wont to take expositions of Scripture, upon the credit of any Authour, how great or plausible soever; nor to look upon their Resolves as if they were *Hercules Pillars*, with a *Ne plus ultra* upon them. And therefore he used, as occasion offered it selfe, to set upon those difficult places of Scripture, which seemed to be of concernment, especially where he found error had insconsed it selfe with obscurity, antiquity, or multitude of mistakers. By this means, he became furnished with variety of discourse, of things no lesse delightfull and profitable, then out of the vulgar rode of studies; which made his company much desired and frequented by Scholars, both of the same Colledge and from abroad. To these, he used to impart himselfe, with that willingness, that it seemed questionable, whether had the greater desire, they to

[A a a] hear,

hear, or he to communicate his studies to them : which made a familiar friend of his once merrily to say to one that , having been partaker of his discourse , gave him thanks, *That he might spare his thanks ; for that they were not so much beholding to him for delivering himselfe to them , as he was to them for bearing him.* And thus much is most certain ; that , though it were no small advantage which his Auditors made, yet that which thereby he made to himselfe was the greater ; who , by that meanes, so fixed his notions in his memory, that he made them ever his own , and himselfe able , at any time , readily to deliver them in a complete and well-formed discourse : and was wont , as often as hee had occasion to vent himselfe in publick, (especially in those Colledge-exercises , which they called *Common-places*) to make use of those Discourses , which , being so made familiar , were with little labour put into form, and as easily remembred for ready utterance.

Some of which are those excellent *Diatribæ* , or short Discourses now published
for

for the common use, and profit of the Church: which, though but few in comparison of that great store wherewith so rich a magazine was furnished, yet, I believe, even in those few, he hath discovered more rarities, and pieces of profound and unvulgar learning, then are to be found in some vast volumes of many much-admired Authours. In which, because there are many things of a transcendent strain, and beyond the capacities of Common-Readers, if any shall therefore suspect him, as guilty of Ostentation, or Affectation, they will much mistake him. To clear him of which suspicion, with all indifferent judgements, it will be enough to tell them, that they were *Academicall Exercises*, calculated for the Meridian of an University, and not fitted for the vulgar: and that for himselfe; he was, of all knowing men, the most averse from those vanities: for such he ever esteemed the unnecessary quotation of Authours, and the use of foreign Languages, and termes of Art, in popular discourses or Sermons; and would often expresse his dislike of that practise

etise (too much in use, even among men, otherwise learned and religious) as favouring of as much inconsideration, as *for shoemakers* (it was his comparison) *to bring shoes to be drawne on, with their lasts in them*: judging it a scarce pardonable folly, for men, going about to instruct the ignorant, to propound things in such terms as themselves, till after they had spent many yeers at School, or in the University, arrived not at the knowledge of. And would say, that Arts and Languages, though they were necessary and excellent helps for the framing of any discourse, and to enable men to instruct others; yet were they to be laid by in those discourses, that were to be made use of, for the instruction of the unlearned; to whom, every word of a strange tongue, every School-term (how significant soever in themselves, and to the learned) were but as so many stumbling-blocks, and at the best, as stiles, which, though some might leap over, yet they interrupted the progresse of their attention.

And to give him his just right: he was so far

far from the vanity of ostentation, that it is hard to say, whether he was more eminent for his rare knowledge, or for his singular modesty in valuing his own abilities: in so much as he could not, without trouble, hear of that opinion, which some (deservedly enough) had conceived of his great learning: owning onely some diligence, freedom from prejudice & *studium partium* as his best abilities; as himselfe hath excellently exprest it in a Letter of his (now printed) to his friend Mr. *Samuel Hartlib*.

To this, as a near alliance of modesty, may be added his aversenesse from all ambitious thoughts, and affectation of great and publick places, to the pursuance of which many have been spurred by their confidence of lesser abilities. This as it appeared by his refusing the offer made him by the B. of *Winchester*, and his modest deniall of the Provostship of the Colledge of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, to which he was elected, and recommended by another great Prelate the Lord Primate of *Armagh*, so his sense and natural inclination in this kinde, is clearly

expressed by him in another of his Letters to the same friend, (upon occasion of certain ungrounded conjectures made (by some) upon his being, by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, admitted into the number of his Chaplains) affirming (to use his owne words) *that he had ever declined such a condition, and esteemed it no wisdom to change his pleasing course, wherein he had spent the greatest part of his life in tranquillitate & secessu (which indeed was ever his highest ambition) and to enter now into a tumultuous life, where he should not have time to think his own thoughts, and must of necessity displease others, or himselfe.*

Neither must that be silently past over (as (with these other rare attendants of so great perfections) adding no small lustre to his Character) that in his love he ever conjoyned that blessed paire, *Truth and Peace*; so as in his eager and unwearied pursuit of *Truth*, he never used to goe out of the way of *Peace*; or to juggle or fly upon any that seem'd to stand in his way, or would not goe along with him. His great knowledge did not (as it doth with many) make him apt, either to
contend

contend with any, or, for difference in opinion, to break the bond of amity, but was ever most tenderly studious of the peace of the Church; to whose censure he ever submitted his private judgement; being willing either to reform or silence any opinion, which should be found repugnant to truth, or inconsistent with peace. And though he might have been as confident of his own sense as most men, yet he was not willing, at any time, to enter the lists of contention with any: especially where he saw mens passions drawne in for seconds in any point of controversy: (for of men so affected, he could easily observe, that they were ever most studious of persons, and sides, and particular interests; whose impetuouse, and prejudice against other mens, and for their own opinions, he would ever answer with silence; not loving to entertain discourse with them who were resolved however to have the last word, being more addicted to that uningenuous humour (as he was wont to call it) of *Disputacity*, then a sober, and moderate disquisition

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after

after Truth.) As it hapned in that unhappy difference, which, in his most flourishing time, raised so great a flame in the Low-Countries, (and had well-nigh done the like in this Church) about the point of Predestination, and its Appendants: Of which he would often say, that he wondred that men should, with so great animosity, contend about those high and obscure speculations, and with so severe a confidence condemn each other; considering that, as the wise man saith, (to whose words he would often allude) *We hardly guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour doe we finde out the things that are before us: but the things that are in heaven, who hath searched out?* Such was his moderation, and sense of humane imperfection: so little of tumor had his great knowledge; so much of Charity.

Of which Christian grace we might present him to the world, as a rare, & singular example in all the sweet, and heavenly fruits & effects of it, if that were not too much in so short a view. Yet a word may be endured seeing the pattern was so high, and the practise there-

thereof, though most necessary, is now so uncouth, and strange in this uncharitable age.

Of him then let this be thought worthy of our observation, that he in what company, or amongst what parties soever, was never forward to catch at hints of discourse, or to declare his opinion; or, in a way of singularity, or privacy of judgement, (where yet is the sole monopoly of vulgar fame, and exultation) not even by importunity could he be wrought upon, to make the world acquainted with those things, which divers particular learned men, would declare to him to be (in their opinions) of rare and singular use: witness this one instance; when being seriously wished that he would, and asked whether he had it not in his purpose to write *in difficiliora loca*? (whereunto, without a crack, he was incomparably furnished, having infinite materials laid in, of all sorts, out of all the store-houses of Divine and humane learning, none of which ever saw light, but were all lost when he was summoned out of the world) his answer, with a sigh, was; *No*: and being pressed to a reason, answered further;

I.

ther; that to such an undertaking were required, ¹ both more learning then he had, or was capable of; and ² more time then he could reckon upon he had to live; and ³ a better choice of books, and select copies of excellent authours, which he had not present with him, or ready at his command; and lastly, but principally, ⁴ that such a work must bee done in an age, whert mens thoughts are not imprisoned, or circumscribed within the pale of overruling parties, otherwise perswaded; of which evill temper that present time, when he lived, was not altogether free. Not in all this that he envied any mans good, or was backward to impart to others what himselfe knew, (for he was the most communicative man in the world) but in that he deservedly owned that Character of true Charity, which the Apostle tells us, *is not puffed up*. In which respect he was of a far different stamp from the generality of learned men, who account it *nothing to know, unlesse others know it of them*; who must talk or burst; not so much for benefit to others, as to disperse, and publish their own praise, which they

1 Cor. 13. 4

they hope to reap in the account and opinions of men abroad, though that whole design be but to inherit the wind; and the world, or the community of mankind in order to faith, and godlines, or any other usefull knowledge, be never a whit better'd, or improved thereby. Of this temper generally, are knowing men, but so was not he.

Again; let this be marked out in him as rare and singular, that it skill'd not at all with him, whether his opinions, or notions were taking or not; He would fairly propound, dexterously illustrate, and ingenuously leave every man to judg for himself, being not ambitious at all to gain Profelytes, or to win others to his own perswasion; still relating to this principle, that, though it were his opinion, and so truth to him; yet was it but an opinion, and so it might be false; therefore magisterially he loved to impose his thought upon no man, but to leave every man in the way of his own judgement, to think, or speak as himself best liked.

And lastly, this, to close, may be added of him, as incomparably rare, that he would
speak

2.

3.

15.

speake ill of no man. The Apostle in the place above mentioned gives it us, as another property of charity, that it *thinketh not evill*; and afterwards, that it *hopeth all things*: so would he hope all good things, because he alwayes loved to speake well, and not to think any evill, because he would dissemble the failings, and errours of his very enemies. It hath been observed with admiration by those that enjoyed the blessing of his daily society, and converse, that he would not willingly accompany them, who, upon what occasion soever, would confidently judge, and censure others; that at least he would be silent, and sometimes would take upon him the authority to rebuke, when others in the pregnancy, or pruriency of wit, would adventure to criticize upon, to the disparagement of any other mens parts, or performances; and most commonly if it might conveniently be, he would withdraw out of place, and company, as abhorring to share in those, often indiscreet, and alwayes, uncharitable censures, and unchristian animadversions.

And

And this temper in him, had, question-
lesse, its spring from (that which Solomon
calls the *Beginning of Wisdom*) *The fear of God.*
Which, that it had a great impression upon
his soul, he manifested, not onely by an in-
nocent and religious conversation, but in all
his discourses: in which, he ever shewed
himselfe tender of the honour of God, and
that he could not brook the least adulterati-
on of his worship, nor the violation of any
thing upon which his awfull name was
tamped. Hence was that severity which he
used in equalling the practises of the present
Roman Church, in their *Saint and Image-wor-*
ship, with those of the *Israelites*, following the
vayes of Ahab and Jeroboam. Hence likewise
was his so great detestation of Sacrilege,
and so zealous asserting of the honour of
Gods house, and whatsoever else is dedica-
ed to his worship, exacting a reverence from
Christians in the use of them in relation to
God, to whom by peculiar propriety they
belong: His severity in the former, though
there were some who thought somewhat
over-rigid, at least that taxed it of bluntnesse
and

and want of Courtly discretion, yet wanted it not the approbation of many that were impartially judicious. And it was with no sort entertained more plausibly, then with those (which in this age are no small number) who measure the truth of every point of Religion by its distance from *Rome*. With which sort of men notwithstanding his like severity in the point of Sacrilege and zeale for the honour of Gods house, &c. (though founded upon the same base of Reason and divine Truth) was as much disrelished, and (as wanting that their fancied *κεντμερον* of sound doctrine) procured him the suspicion of superstition, which such men are apt to entertain of any, that allow any reverence as due to things consecrate to God, and will not testify their zeal against idolatry by committing, or at least by approving of Sacrilege, and banishing all distinction between things sacred and prophane. But his reputation not standing, or falling, *arbitrio popularis auræ*: it would but wrong him to goe about to vindicate him from such mens censure. But there were

were others whose worth and eminency made their censure of more weight, and not to be neglected. Among whom Doctor *Twisse* (then whom no man had otherwise expressed more affectionate respect to him) with more then ordinary warmth and tartness, yet with a friendly close (upon occasion of a book sent him of that subject) expostulated with him about that point; as appears by his eighth Letter now printed. To which Letter, what answer came to his hand I cannot say, but believe Mr. *Mede* (who was never backward in that kind) did not fail to endeavour his satisfaction, for that we find the substance of an answer drawne upon the back-side of the Doctors Letter, written (as it may seem by the hand, which was scarce legible) in some haste, as afterwards to be transcribed, and put into a better form: Notwithstanding, the Doctor was pleased, after the death of his friend, in a commendatory Epistle which he set before that excellent Treatise of the *Apostasie of the latter times* (without taking notice of any answer, or of what was found in that rough draught)

draught) to pursue his disapprobation of that point, (almost in the same terms he had formerly done in his Letter) which, as it may seem a little impertinent in a commendatory Preface to a Tract of another and approved nature, so it was looked upon by some as scarcely consistent with that respect which the Doctor professed to him, while he was living. I shall not load his memory (he being also now dead) with the imputation of any foul intention, but rather note his ingenuity (which somewhat qualifies the injury of his undeserved censure) in that he is pleased, in condemning the Errour, to free it from malignity in the Authour, making the grounds of it to be such as might miscarry an honest man and a good Scholar; and clearing him from the guilt of *time-serving*, with which the malevolent ignorance of some had, more uncharitably, aspersed him; Wherein, as he hath done him a just and friendly right, so he hath said enough to stop the mouth of malice it selfe, which cannot, with any sense, interpret that to be written out of a compliance with the

the times, which (as he truly affirms) he had, many yeers before the times relish'd it, declared it to be his opinion.

As for his confutation: The value of it will easily appear to any, that with a judicious eye shall compare it with those Reasons and Grounds upon which our learned Authour built his assertion, which will be found to need no other vindication, then its own strength and solidity affords it. And though it were not hard to frame a particular Reply to all that the Doctor hath brought, and were but a right that might justly be expected from a friend, not silently to suffer him to lye under the accusation of Error: yet for that the Doctor is now dead (though that prevailed not with him for the sparing of his friend) I shall remit the judicious and unprejudiced Readers to examine, on both sides, what he findes by either alledged for themselves, and leave them to passe their sentence accordingly: my hope is, that when the times shall come (if ever such times are to be hoped) that men shall return to such a sense of the

[B b b]

Divine

Divine Majesty, as to be content that God may have his due; it will not be thought either needlesse or dangerous (and much lesse superstitious) to cast a more then ordinary respect of honour upon those things, which by a singular appropriation are justly stiled Gods; and by bearing his name challenge a discriminating observance from those whose duty it is, never to take the name of God (where ever they finde it) in vain. And pious posterity will blesse his Memory, and mention his Name with honour, who, seeing how greedily too many in these later Ages (partly out of a misguided zeale, and partly out of that Atheistical or Idolatrous covetousnesse, which transforms gain into godlinesse) ran to the devouring of holy things, bent his studies to oppose so great impiety; and laboured, that men, that *abhorred Idols*, might not condemn themselves, by *committing* or allowing *Sacrilege*. The affinity of which transgressions is judiciously demonstrated in that excellent discourse of this Authours, called the *Sanctification of Gods Name*.

To

A short view of the Authours Life and Death.

To return now to our reverend Authour, whom, in a rude and rough draught, I have endeavoured to represent; and, as in a small Table to delineate some of those excellent endowments that adorned him: which whosoever, with a curious eye, shall view these published Discourses of his, may behold more largely, and more lively portrayed by his own more able pen. To serve as a Border to which, I shall adde thus much of his outside. That his soul, while it conversed in these regions of mortality, was invested in a comely and healthful body, somewhat beyond a just temper, inclined to melancholy; yet so, as that melancholy seemed rather to poysse, and make it serviceable to his studious minde, then to distemper it with those infirmities which commonly attend the predominancy of that humour. His outward condition no lesse fitted his natural inclination, as enjoying a quiet retirement from the world, in a convenient station, in one of the most delightful seats of the Muses: with which, he had that happinesse

[B b b 2]

that

A short view of the Authours Life and Death.

that his condition was ever pleasing to him: thinking it well with him, that God, with a sparing hand, had given him a sufficiency; and improving that sufficiency by contracting his mind, and not suffering it to pine under a sense of want, through an impotent desire of more. His feeding, for the most part, was rather to suffice nature, then to satisfy his appetite: which, being usually good, sometimes (though very seldome) he would gratify with making a large meale; but his Ordinary was his Colledge-commons (to which no man was more constant) with the smaller sort of beer; the wine which he drank at the Communion, being usually more then he drank all the year besides, which made him often merrily to tell them which observed the thriving of his body (which in his later yeers was very apparent) that *They might see what Colledge commons could do.* And as his body, with small commons, so his purse, with a small *Intrado*, received a considerable improvement, though not to any mass of weakh, yet such as made some, who, looking upon his store, when them-

themselves many times conflicted with difficulties, and found the same, or perhaps a larger, fortune over-narrow for them, to suspect and voyce him as over-studious of his purse. But they altogether mistook the Man: and had they been as wary in avoyding the occasions of expenses, as they were watchful of advantages of getting, they might have found his Art of thriving, and easily been induced to a better opinion of him: who, in truth, was neither greedy to get, nor sordidly retentive of what he had. He knew well both how to expend and give; and, when ever he had just occasion, would doe both, handsomely and liberally: so that his thrift was rather attendant to his condition (which being retired, and devoted to his studies, lay not open to many, or great occasions of expenses) then inbred or studied.

Thus keeping on in a constant tenour, he enjoyed a happy life with as much of tranquillity, and freedom from incombrances, as mortality could almost expect; and finished his course with as happy a

[B b b 3 death:

death: being taken away with a short (for it ended the fourth day) and not very painful sicknesse; which seizing on his mortal parts gave leave to his soul, for a free imployment of its (then most useful) faculties: his understanding, judgement and memory continuing in vigour to his last gasp: So dying a deliberate death, disposing of those things, which then became no longer useful to him; mostly in pious bequests, to the honour of God, and the advancement of piety in that place of his education, whereunto he bequeathed towards the new building, (then but designed) the increase of the Library, the adorning of the Chappel (because he loved so much the beauty of Gods house) a large Legacy out of a Scholars purse, of 300. pounds; in way of a grateful return for those mercies he had so long enjoyed in that Colledge, whereof he was a member: and composing his soul (which he then was only to attend) for its addresse into the Divine presence with most devout thoughts, and humble prayers; and strengthening it with the commemoration
of

A short view of the Authours Life and Death.

of his death, by whom he hoped to obtain a more blessed life, in the participation of the sacred Eucharist: and having thus taken and tasted the cup of salvation, within a few houres, he departed hence, to the more full fruition of those heavenly delicacies, among those *blessed ones that are called to the Supper of the Lamb*, upon the second of October, 1638. when he had lived 53. yeers, and spent above two thirds of that time in that Colledge, to which living he was so great an ornament, and dead, his worthy name shall be a lasting monument. And having this happinesse in his death, that he was taken away from the evils that were then ready to come, and before *truth and peace* had begun to suffer in this unhappy Island.

Thus, that good hand of God, which all his life long had provided for him to so good a competency, was not defective at the last, to make even his death an antidote against any evil approaching: which was grievous to the meek and humble Christians to behold, and of great mercy to him,

[B b b 4]

that

that his eyes were closed before. It was enough to him, and God saw it sufficient, that he should view only at a distance, and in the presage of his own divining spirit, but ghes at what afterwards came to passe, viz. the great shakings and commotions in this our Israel. And indeed he would often speak of this, a yeer or two before he died, as an observation upon that in the third of Judges, verse 30. *The land had rest fourscore yeers,* “ (the longest period of time that people “ of Israel ever enjoyed it, and then which “ scarcely any other nation ever hath enjoyed “ a longer) which now, would he say, that, “ from the beginning of Blessed Queen *Eli-* “ *zabeth's* reign, we of *England* have enjoyed; “ who knowes whether our period may “ not be near at hand? And whether it be “ so, or not, whosoever shall live but a “ yeer or two, may know it of a certain. In this he did (as it were) both say his own *Nunc dimittis*, and withall gave the nation a hint to that loud alarme of warre, which we have seen begun, and carried on thus far: But God onely knowes (even the God of

A short view of the Authours Life and Death.

of peace, the God who is LOVE, the God who maketh warres to cease) when it shall have the desired good end, in a firm establishment of Truth and Peace, Righteousnesse and due Freedom, amongst us; that there may be no cries, no complainings in our streets, that all teares may be wiped away from our eyes, that every one may sit under his Vine and under his Fig-tree, and none to make afraid: which, yet, is the hope and prayer of all the faithfull.

FINIS.


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Diatriba : I. Part.

*Diatriba : a Con-
tinuation.* } *on sundry Texts of Scripture men-
tioned in each Part.*

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Diatriba : IV. Part.

The name Altar, or Θ Τ Σ Ι Α Σ Τ Η Ρ Ι Ο Ν.

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